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GEN<sup>L</sup> YERMOLOW,

*London, Feb<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1855. Every other day, except on Sundays.*

**NARRATIVE**  
**OF**  
**DON JUAN VAN HALEN'S**  
**IMPRISONMENT**

**IN THE**  
**DUNGEONS OF THE INQUISITION**  
**AT MADRID,**  
**AND HIS ESCAPE IN 1817 AND 1818;**  
**TO WHICH ARE ADDED,**  
**HIS JOURNEY TO RUSSIA,**  
**HIS CAMPAIGN WITH THE ARMY OF THE CAUCASUS,**  
**AND HIS RETURN TO SPAIN IN 1821.**

**EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT,**  
**BY THE AUTHOR OF**  
**"DON ESTEBAN" AND "SANDOVAL."**

**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. II.**

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*List of Names of Persons mentioned in the Narrative.*

1. Antonio Quiroz
2. J. Lopez y Tinajero
3. J. M. Garcia
4. J. M. Garcia
5. J. M. Garcia
6. J. M. Garcia
7. J. M. Garcia

# NARRATIVE

OF

## DON JUAN VAN HALEN.

### CHAP. I.

The author resolves on entering the Russian service—His interview with some gentlemen of the Russian legation in London—Don Fermin Tastet—Mr. Bludoff—Don Antonio Quiroga—The author embarks for Hamburgh—Mr. Strow, consul-general—Kindness of Mr. Von Beseler—Don E. P. de Castro—Journey from Hamburgh to Berlin—Spanish settlers—Arrival in the Prussian capital—Von Hall, a merchant of Berlin—Account of Don Luis Landaburo—Visit to Counsellor Kraft, secretary of the Russian Embassy—Genoese spy—The author quits Berlin in company with Secretary Koch.

THE resolution I had formed of pursuing in some remote country the career of arms, in which I had been brought up, naturally led me to fix my eyes on Russia, whose forces were not likely to come into contact with those of Spain, and whose monarch, by far the most enlightened of the continental kings, was universally respected for the moderation with which he used

his unlimited power, and for the liberal views he displayed in the internal policy of his empire. Under this favorable impression I finally decided upon Russia, communicating my intention of immediately proceeding thither to a worthy countryman of mine with whom I was intimately connected, and to a Spanish banker, Don Fermin Tastet, long established in London, and whose house I frequented. These gentlemen, the first to whom I disclosed my resolution, manifested the utmost surprise at hearing it, especially when they reflected on the slender foundations upon which my hopes were founded. Their sympathy, however, being excited by the confidence I placed in the success of my undertaking, the banker, who for many years had been entrusted with the pecuniary interests of the Russian embassy in England, offered to exert his influence in my favor. This he effectually accomplished, and the result of his friendly interference soon stimulated me to persevere in my plan; and I was invited to visit one of the gentlemen of the Russian legation, who from the first showed a lively interest in my future destiny.

A gentleman, a friend of the banker, who had been informed of my resolution, undertook to be my Mentor upon this occasion, and preached to me a sermon of two hours, which I then

listened to with as much interest as it would be now tedious to repeat, and in which he pretended to an intimate knowledge of the Russian character, ending by saying, "You are going to-morrow to visit a Russian gentleman; mind to have your private plan well digested before the interview. The Inquisition has given as much celebrity to Spain as Napoleon to France, and you will be questioned about it and about Ferdinand; your adventures will form the subject of conversation: display your moderation, my dear friend, particularly when Spanish affairs are brought forward. Indeed, the less is said about it the better; because it is not possible for the Russians to measure the immense distance existing between the events passing on the Guadalquivir and those of the Neva. If you fail in observing the utmost reserve, even with the best friend you may find among them, you are a lost man, for they will not prize your sentiments as they may deserve. In Russia they live under an enlightened despotism; every thing is read there; every thing is discussed. The conspirators who assassinated Paul attended a supper where they drank the health of the new emperor two hours before the murder took place, without making any great secret of it. This will give you an idea how things are



managed among that people, and what difference there is between their manners and ours. The Russians and the Spaniards know each other only through the writings of foreigners, in which we are represented as Algerines, and they as Cossacks."

A few hours after this conversation I repaired to the appointed interview, having previously formed my plan according to the advice I had received from the above gentleman, the justness of whose observations I had now, in some measure, an opportunity of ascertaining. On being introduced, I found the Russian gentleman reclining on a sofa, and smoking a long pipe. He received me with much politeness and affability, without however rising from the sofa, pleading as an excuse his having lost a leg in the last campaign, which rendered his reclining posture at times necessary; and, without putting to me any of the questions which had been imagined by my well-informed Mentor, proceeded to speak of my journey and of Petersburg, as he might have done to a friend. He hinted, in the most delicate manner, that my recent misfortunes, and the resolution I had adopted, excited his deepest interest, and he promised to furnish me with letters of introduction to his friends of that capital and of Berlin. On the following

day he presented me to the secretary of the embassy, Mr. Bludoff, at that time *Chargé d’Affaires*, from whom I was to obtain the most essential requisite for my journey, namely the passport. Mr. Bludoff received me with the same affability as my introducer had done, advising me to procure as many letters of recommendation as I possibly could, that I might be better able to obtain admission into the Russian service; because the Emperor, owing to the numberless petitions that had been presented to him in France and Germany, had just issued an ukase, declaring that he would receive no more foreign officers into his army. He added that he feared my rank would render my endeavours to enter the service of the Emperor more difficult. I mentioned my willingness to serve even as a private soldier, and expressed such sentiments as a man at my age and in my situation would be likely to entertain; but Mr. Bludoff smiled, and assured me that on my arrival at St. Petersburg I should form a more correct opinion of his countrymen, and dismiss the erroneous notions which I seemed to have imbibed; adding that he would forward the passport to me through the banker.

November (1818) had just commenced, and soon the navigation of the Baltic would be en-

tirely closed. My slender means required that I should proceed to Petersburg by sea; but the last vessel for Riga having sailed from the Thames on the 18th, I lost the opportunity of sailing, owing to a delay that occurred in the delivery of the passport, occasioned by some obstacles which were started by the Spanish ambassador to prevent my departure.

Whilst I was in this state of inaction, I received a letter from a lady, a friend of mine, residing at Cadiz; in which, notwithstanding the well-founded fears I entertained of seeing no favorable change take place in the Spanish government so soon as it was to be wished, I read with pleasure a postscript,<sup>1</sup> written by an old friend and comrade of mine, Colonel Don Antonio Quiroga, who had been in garrison with me at Jaen at the time of my first misfortunes. Uncertain, however, what conduct to follow on this occasion, I communicated the contents of the postscript to some countrymen of mine, (with whom I was in the habit of dining in London at the same table) who dissuaded me from entering into any correspondence with him upon the subject.

On the 20th of the same month I found at the

<sup>1</sup> See note A.

house of the banker the passport and several letters of recommendation, and I made the necessary preparations for my departure.

These once concluded, I found myself master of a passport, ten letters of introduction, a purse with scarcely sixty pounds in it, and a portmanteau of clothes more fit for the drawing-room than for travelling. Such were the slender means with which I resolved to meet the rigour of a climate like that of Russia, and to undertake a journey by land, so long and painful, to seek my fortunes among a people of whose character I was totally ignorant, notwithstanding the various accounts I had read respecting them, and the information I was indebted for to the friend of the banker ; but to overbalance these inconveniences, I had good health, a better resolution, and the most sanguine hopes of success.

When I communicated this resolution to those countrymen of mine with whom I usually dined, and who were as little informed on the subject as myself, they considered my undertaking as an act of despair ; one prognosticating the loss of my ears or my nose by the severe frosts of the country, another my being sent to Siberia immediately on my arrival in Russia ; whilst those, who were less intimately acquainted with

me, looked upon it as an incomprehensible mystery in open contradiction to liberal principles. My determination, however, was too firmly fixed to be shaken by the opinions of men who did not dive to the bottom of the secret of my enterprize—imperative necessity; so that I listened to and laughed at their ominous forebodings, and finally took my leave of them.

On the 24th of November, I sailed from Gravesend on board an English merchant vessel bound for Hamburgh, which place we reached three days after. As soon as the vessel cast anchor, I expressed to the captain my desire of going ashore, with which he readily complied, and I soon landed on the quay with my luggage, which was not so strictly searched as it had been on the shores of England, after which I proceeded to the hotel of the king of Prussia.

My first care was to repair to the house of the Russian consul-general, Mr. Stroff, for whom I had a letter of introduction, and who received me very kindly, inviting me to visit him frequently during my stay at Hamburgh. The rest of my recommendations were for some merchants residing there, from whom I likewise met a good reception, but who could be of little or no service to a military man. In justice, how-

ever, to a certain class of persons of that country, I ought to relate here a circumstance characteristic of their hospitality. In my endeavours to discover the house of one of the persons to whom I had been recommended, I entered by mistake that of a gentleman, a native of Hamburgh, by name Mr. Von Beseler, who very obligingly guided me to the place of which I was in search, and afterwards insisted on my dining with him on that day; both he and his interesting family doing every thing in their power to render my residence in that city as pleasant as possible.

On the following day, whilst I was writing in my apartment, I received the unexpected visit of a Spaniard, Don S. L . . . , whom I had known some years back in Madrid as an indefatigable place-hunter, though perfectly incapable of filling any, and who offered no apology for his present intrusion. In the course of conversation I soon ascertained that he was secretary to the Spanish consul-general, who at that time resided at Hamburgh, and that the object of his visit was to discover the motive of my journey there, which he supposed to be connected with some South American scheme, and which would have furnished him with the pretext of taking some measures against me.

While he was still with me, Mr. Von Beseler entered to invite me to spend the day with his family, and as he was already acquainted with some of the adventures of my life, manifested some alarm at seeing S. L. there. Notwithstanding the dulness of the latter, he soon perceived that his company could be dispensed with, and he took his leave, when Mr. Von Beseler said earnestly, "That man is not only a fool, but very ill-intentioned. I have met him before this, and I know he is reputed as such. He will bring you into trouble, if we do not prevent it. Finish your letters, and let us immediately go to Mr. Stroff, to solicit his protection; and should this fail, we will take you to Altona, where you may be beyond the reach of danger."

I told him that I did not think the Russian consul, or even the government of the country, would ever allow of my being in the least molested, to which Mr. Von Beseler replied, that the influence of any small German state was too limited to be safely confided in. We consequently proceeded to the house of the Russian consul, who, on being informed of the object of our visit, assured me that I had nothing to fear, as, besides the guarantee which my passport afforded me, the character of Don Evaristo Perez de Castro, the immediate chief of L . . . ,

was such as to dispel any apprehensions I might entertain.

The diligence for Berlin left Hamburg on that day, and as I only learned this when it was too late to profit of the opportunity, I was obliged to wait for the next, which did not start for three days, during which I passed most of my time in the society of Mr. Von Beseler's family. In this interval my letters for Berlin and Petersburg increased, and L . . . , under the pretext of giving me a letter for a friend of his in the last city, again attempted to see me ; but as I had ascertained that he had sounded the consul-general for the purpose of having me claimed from the government, I gave orders to the servants to deny me to him.

On the day before my departure, Mr. Von Beseler took me with his family to a country-house, beautifully situated near Altona, where he treated me with a banquet in the Spanish style, prepared by an old soldier of the army of the Marquis de la Romana, who had remained behind, and established himself as cook in this country house.

Early on the following day, I visited the Russian consul, from whom I received back my passport, as well as some letters of introduction, and the most sincere wishes for the success of



my journey. I also took my farewell of the amiable family of Mr. Von Beseler, who accompanied me to the diligence. Thus from the first moment of our accidental acquaintance, this gentleman showed me attentions which I could hardly have expected from the most intimate friend.

The road from Hamburgh to Berlin was so dismal, the diligence so excessively inconvenient, the inns so wretched, and the company every where so inferior, that I found no pleasure in any thing that came within my notice. In Spain the inns are generally bad; but there is a certain cheerfulness, which has been justly described by Cervantes. Not so in those which are met on the road to Berlin: every thing is dull beyond expression; houses, landlords, dogs, furniture, every thing reminds one of All-Souls day in Spain.

Along the high road are seen a great number of houses inhabited by Spaniards, who had accompanied La Romana in his expedition with Bernadotte in 1806, and who, having remained in the hospitals, afterwards married and established themselves in that country. Wishing to know if they remembered their country and their banners, I put the question to one who appeared still to retain his native vivacity. He answered, that he had more reason to remember

the accursed surgeon, who was the cause of his remaining behind, by keeping him in the hospital till it was too late to join his comrades. He had two children, who spoke both Spanish and German very fluently, and who acted as my interpreters.

The country was partially covered with snow, and the uninterrupted dulness of the atmosphere increased the tedium of the journey, till at length, towards the close of the second day, the aspect of the country changed; and as we advanced, I easily perceived that we were approaching the residence of the Fredericks. Our intolerable carriage entered Berlin about noon at its usual slow pace; and once my luggage and passport examined by the custom-house and police officers, I proceeded to the hotel of the Golden Angel, where I had been recommended to alight. In the evening I called upon Mr. Von Hall, a rich Jewish merchant, for whom I had brought a letter of introduction, and whom I found surrounded by a numerous family. Being invited to spend the evening in their society, which, owing to his birthday being celebrated on that day, was extremely well attended, the conversation turned upon Don Luis Landaburo, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, who was filling *pro tem.* the post

which his brother had just left vacant by an unpremeditated suicide. These two gentlemen, one of them a colonel, were of the number of those whose names the inquisitors were unable to discover, and whose letters were in their possession. The account which the banker gave me of that unfortunate event made such an impression on me, that he easily remarked the deep interest I felt for them, and without informing me of it, wrote to the colonel, acquainting him of my arrival; when soon after I was agreeably surprised by the presence of my friend, whose invitation to breakfast with him on the following morning, to talk without restraint over our affairs, I gladly accepted.

As my friend did not place much reliance on the attendants belonging to the embassy, I was announced to him under a feigned name. Our mutual misfortunes were the subject of conversation, my flight from the Inquisition being known to him rather through the public papers than by direct information from Spain; while I was totally ignorant of the tragic death of his brother until it was mentioned to me by Mr. Von Hall. Since I parted from Polo, I had not enjoyed such a moment of unreserved confidence as that which I passed with my friend, who, on learning that I had a letter of recommendation

for the secretary of the Russian embassy, advised me not to defer my visit, as he was the only person in Berlin who could be of any real service to me.

On arriving at the house of the secretary, Counsellor\* Kraft, I caused myself to be announced, and meantime put my hand into my pocket for my letter of recommendation, which I found had disappeared, along with my pocket-book, which contained other letters, as well as some notes, then of consequence to me. Having in vain searched and searched again, I hastily descended the stairs, to avoid giving a man, whom I had never seen, a sinister impression of my visit; but I had hardly gained the street, when the servant came running after me, and the secretary himself appeared at the window, requesting my return. Obligated to appear before him without my credentials, I own I felt greatly embarrassed how to break the matter to him in such a manner as not to raise unfavorable suspicions in his mind respecting my intentions or my understanding. This was the more increased as his countenance was the very picture of intelli-

\* In Russia all the diplomatic agents belong to the Council of State, though their denominations differ according to their rank in the Council.

gence ; and besides the servant who kept his eyes fixed on me, there was another spectator who witnessed the scene in a looking-glass, apparently highly entertained at it. At length, after a few minutes' silence, I informed him of my name, and that I was the bearer of a letter which I had lost, and of a passport which I had inadvertently left at the hotel. He smiled, and enquired the hour when he might find me at home, adding, that on the following morning he would repay me this visit, and after many civilities, accompanied me to the stairs, which I scarcely know whether I descended or rolled down, so great appeared to me the ridicule I must have excited.

I hastened to the inn, and searched in every place ; but neither my pocket-book nor my letters were to be found. I then proceeded to the house of my Spanish friend, who, on hearing my loss, and suspecting one of those by whom he was surrounded, managed things so well, that the pocket-book was found secreted in a certain place, where a copy of its contents had been commenced by a Genoese spy, who considered it as a welcome offering to the inquisitors and his employers. I was no less rejoiced at the recovery of my pocket-book, than surprised at the dexterity and barefacedness of the fellow

who stole it; particularly as the great coat, in the pocket of which it was, had been in my sight during breakfast.

Early on the following day, whilst I was in my room conversing with Gustmann, my landlord, who, supposing I should make a long stay at Berlin, was willing to give me lessons in German, Counsellor Kraft entered. I was now able to present him with the letter I brought for him, which he, however, put into his pocket without reading, saying with a smile that it was not necessary, as the Russian secretary of Ham-burgh, Mr. Koch, had just arrived, and given an account of my situation by the desire of the consul-general. Mr. Kraft, wishing to compensate for the unpleasantness of our first meeting, invited me to dine with him and Mr. Koch on the following day, an invitation which I accepted with double pleasure; and being informed of the object of my journey, and of the kind of introductions I had for St. Petersburg, he gave me a most accurate idea of the character, sentiments, and influence of each of the persons for whom I had letters. To say the truth, his information was such as greatly to damp my hopes; and on weighing the numberless inconveniences I had to encounter, I came to the sudden resolution of proceeding to

Vienna to meet the Emperor Alexander, who was on his way thither from Aix-la-Chapelle, and to present myself to him, in order to ascertain at once the probable consequence of my enterprize. Mr. Kraft did not at all approve of this; on the contrary, persuaded that my original plan was by far the best, he exhorted me to persevere in it, and entered into a full explanation of the method of conducting such affairs as mine in his country.

I found at first sight in Counsellor Kraft a sort of diplomatic frankness, which, although studied, was such as an emigrant would be glad often to meet with in society. His discourse, however, produced in me a degree of irresolution which for some time was unconquerable. Meanwhile, I visited every place worthy of notice in Berlin in the company of some of my friends, and spent much of my time in a reading-room where I had been presented by one of the members. A foreigner, and particularly one in my circumstances, finds this extensive and beautiful city devoid of all interest from the absence of social intercourse which even among the inhabitants is but contracted. The theatre, therefore, was the only resource of which I now and then availed myself, though most of my evenings were spent at the house of an old Prussian

general, to whom I had been introduced by my Spanish friend, who with myself formed his usual party.

On the day I dined with Mr. Kraft, he introduced me to Mr. Koch, the secretary of the consul-general of Hamburgh, whom I had not seen during my residence there. This gentleman, who had obtained leave to repair to Livonia, his native country, spoke during dinner of his journey, and of the unpleasantness of travelling alone. From the tenor of his conversation it was easy for me to discover the good intention of his friend in this introduction, and the delicacy he observed in his wish to oblige me. My own, however, obliged me to take no notice of this hint, a conduct which I perceived excited the surprise of Mr. Kraft. On the following day, when I called upon him as usual, he told me in a pointed manner, that his friend was anxious I should accept the vacant seat in his carriage; that the expenses of posts were the same; and that such an offer, far from offending me, ought to be considered by me as a tender of friendship from a man, who, having heard the adventures of my life, felt interested in my future welfare, and who would defer his journey as long as it suited me. Having said this, he conducted me to the house of his friend, who



repeated the offer he had made to me through Mr. Kraft. As I could not consider it in any other light than as a proof of his kind regard for me, I accepted it, manifesting the pleasure I felt at his proposal; and having no motive to defer my departure from Berlin, I placed myself entirely at his disposal.

The good state of my wardrobe in some measure concealed my real situation; but when once I became the travelling companion of another, it could not fail to be soon observed. It was about the middle of December, and I was going to undertake a journey unprovided with the fur clothing, which every respectable person wears in those climates, no less for comfort than fashion. As Mr. Koch did not travel in a carriage of his own, those who are acquainted with the open and inconvenient vehicle used in posting on the road to St. Petersburg, and who, moreover, know the rigours of a northern climate from December forward, will be able to form a tolerable idea of the inconveniences that awaited me, and which I could not avoid for reasons not very difficult to be guessed.

When my countryman, the colonel, learned this news, he warmly congratulated me on my good fortune. Knowing, as I did, that the situation he filled was far from being lucrative, since for

several months he had been living at his own expense without receiving the smallest remittance from the Spanish government, I had not mentioned to him my reduced circumstances. Indeed, the more contracted they became, the less inclination I felt to disclose them; but when the moment for our departure was at hand, my kind friend brought to mind the balance of an account owing to me, which I had entirely forgotten, and which, on my refusing to accept, he converted into a present of two necessary articles of winter clothing.

Mr. Von Hall, on my taking leave of him, increased the number of my letters of recommendation, and kindly offered to forward to Russia the correspondence of my family and friends, an offer which he never failed to fulfil.

Our departure took place on the 18th. of December, when I left the hotel of the Golden Angel, surprised at the moderate bill of the honest Gustmann, who, I think, had he not been afraid of wounding my delicacy, would not have presented me with any, and who, as he bid me farewell, lamented my not endeavouring to gain admission into the Prussian service.

On my arriving at the hotel where Mr. Koch resided, I found the post-chaise waiting at the door, and in his apartment my protector Mr.

Kraft. My countryman, seeing the generous conduct observed by these gentlemen, did not hesitate to be present on this occasion, to the no small surprise of the latter, who believed us to be of opposite opinions. Thus the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires (a very singular circumstance at this or at any time) shared with the Russian counsellor the friendly attention of bidding farewell to an emigrant in my situation.

## CHAP. II.

The travellers arrive at the Vistula—City of Konigsberg—Description—Road to Memel—Curische Haft—Memel—A Muscovite merchant—Amber collected—They enter Russia—Village of Palangen—Russian travelling—Adventures—Mittau—Its palace—Passage across the ice of the River Dwina—Riga—Industry of the ladies—Journey to St. Petersburg—Intemperance—Apathy of the serfs of Livonia—Wretched inns—The author takes leave of Mr. Koch at Dorpat.

WE left Berlin at eleven o'clock in the morning, the weather being extremely foggy, and the ground partially covered with snow. From the first my travelling companion observed my slight clothing, the only articles of my winter dress consisting of a pair of furred boots and gloves, and of a Spanish cloak, which, being the same that my friends of Madrid furnished me with on the night of my escape, was so much worn as to be of little or no use. This attire in Russia was no less singular than insufficient. Wishing, however, to conceal from Mr. Koch my real wants, and following the example of a proud Castilian,

I assured him that I was so accustomed to this cloak as to stand in no need of warmer clothing, and that, though a Spaniard and born in a warm climate, I was as capable of resisting the rigour of a northern one as a native himself.

We travelled the whole day along a road more frequented and less monotonous than that of Hamburgh, and reached towards night a post house, where we met with the Russian suite of the empress-mother, who was to leave Berlin for St. Petersburg on the following day, and for whom most of the horses were engaged. It was with the greatest difficulty, therefore, that we succeeded in obtaining fresh horses, and not till after midnight that we were enabled to proceed, though always at the mercy of our phlegmatic postilions. Towards evening we arrived at Culm, on the banks of the wide Vistula, the waters of which being nearly frozen over, prevented our farther progress that night, which we spent at an inn at no great distance from the river.

The more intimate I became with my companion, the more I congratulated myself upon having made his acquaintance. The equanimity of his temper, his affability, delicacy, and above all his enlightened notions and great fund of information, which rendered his conversation as

varied as it was instructive, were more than sufficient to compensate for the many inconveniences of the journey.

At break of day we left the inn, and whilst the postilion undertook to see the carriage safely landed on the opposite banks of the Vistula; we committed ourselves to the care of some barge-men, who, after struggling for three quarters of an hour against the floating ice, succeeded in effecting the passage. In this part of Prussia, formerly belonging to Poland, the attendance at the post-houses and at the inns was much improved; so that on the fifth day of our departure from Berlin, we reached Königsberg; where Mr. Koch, desirous that I should form some idea of the large cities through which we passed, proposed a short stay. Various causes had hitherto prevented me from taking any notes of my journey; but the example of my excellent companion induced me to begin my journal here, without which it is probable I should have travelled on engrossed with the reflections produced by the incertitude of my future fate, and with as much indifference as my portmanteau.

It is not unlikely but that I may now and then repeat what has been observed by other travellers under more favorable circumstances,

and whose minds were less embarrassed; in which case, however, my testimony will confirm what another may have before said. At all events, as it is not my intention to enlarge much on places generally known, but only on countries less frequented, my laconism, I hope, will conciliate all.

The city of Königsberg is situated on the borders of the Frische Haft, and covers a considerable extent of unequal ground. It contains between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants, and its commerce consists chiefly of hemp, potash, wood, and grain, exported from Poland. Its garrison is, in my opinion, too small for such a large and important place. The palace of the grand master of the Teutonic order, who formerly resided here, still exists, though in a very neglected state. Mr. Koch and myself were conducted by a respectable Prussian veteran to the great Teutonic tower, from which the whole city and its environs are seen, doubtless affording, in summer, a magnificent *coup-d'œil*; though at this season, and especially on the day we visited it, we could see nothing but an extensive sheet of snow, covering the ground, the trees, and the roofs of the houses. Indeed, were it not that the character of my companion was superior to any kind of practical jokes, I

should have thought that his intention in taking me there was to put to trial my resistance against the cold, and punish me for having boasted of being impervious to the winter atmosphere of a northern climate. From the tower, Mr. Koch showed me the roads to Memel and Tilsit, both of which are in the direction of Russia; but the weather was too hazy to allow my forming a correct idea of the bad choice made by Mr. Koch, in proceeding on our journey by that of Memel.

We left Königsberg, thirty six hours after our arrival, by the Memel road, which is certainly deserving of notice. I never enquired the whimsical motive of Mr. Koch in preferring it to that of Tilsit, by which I should have been glad to proceed, to see the memorable place where the destiny of my country was decided. From Königsberg to Memel, the road is formed on a neck of soft and moving sand, which separates the waters of the Baltic from those of a lake called Curische Haft, which, with another, gives rise to the river Memel, on the banks of which stands the city of the same name. We travelled the greatest part of our road literally wading through water, with a double number of horses, though without scarcely knowing whether the wind, the water, or the horses, impelled the



open and uncomfortable carriage in which Mr. Koch and myself were packed, together with our luggage. Wearied of the slowness of our conveyance, we no sooner came to dry ground than we alighted and travelled on foot two leagues, till we arrived at a place called Nidden, where we changed horses. Here we met a Muscovite merchant, who was on his way to Germany, carrying with him a great stock of *ykra*.<sup>1</sup> His personal appearance was no less curious to me than the sledges which I had seen for the first time of my life on the previous day: he wore a long beard, and the Muscovite dress; but what principally amused me was the extravagant joy he manifested at hearing my companion speak his native language, and he showed himself so serviceable and attentive, that he did not rest till he procured us a change of horses, with which we proceeded on our journey through that sea of sand, at the same snail's pace as before.

When we distinguished the lighthouse of Memel, we hailed its glimmering as cordially as might seamen on a stormy night; and having at about ten o'clock arrived at the banks of the river Memel, where the sandy neck of land terminated, we crossed over in a boat to the

<sup>1</sup> The salted roes of a fish, which in Russia are eaten raw.

port, and spent the night at an hotel, the landlord of which was not quite so moderate in his charges as the honest Gustmann; the bill we were here presented with for our beds and a breakfast, far exceeding that which the latter made out for the whole time of my residence at Berlin.

Early in the morning we started with the same train of horses and postilions as on the previous day. As we passed through the town, we observed that the streets were tolerably straight, and the houses regularly built: the great market-place, which is at one extremity of the town, was very crowded at the time we drove through. On the outskirts of the town are a great number of sawing mills, the wood being generally brought from Poland and Lithuania by the Danga and the Memel: the neighbouring strands were crowded with fishermen, employed in collecting amber, for which it was then the season. The weather was bright and serene, and the road as pleasant as it had been disagreeable on the former day.

Nimmersatz was the last relay or post-house in Prussia where we changed horses. When we came in sight of the Russian barrier, which was soon after leaving that place, my friend advised me to put my Spanish cloak aside; "for

there," said he, pointing to the barrier, "we shall meet Cossacks, who, should they take a dislike to your cloak, may transfer it to your person, and then, heaven knows what may happen." This he said in a joking manner; but as I had heard by no means favourable accounts of these men, I implicitly believed him, and throwing my cloak aside, doomed it for sale to the next Jew I should meet.

On reaching the barrier, we were detained but a very short time: the commanding officer of the station, having spoken a few words with Mr. Koch, gave orders to a Cossack to accompany us as far as Palangen, which is the first village of Russia along this road. Here we alighted at the custom-house, where our luggage underwent a slight examination, and where the police officer wrote down my name, my profession, and the object of my journey; an information which was to be immediately sent by post to St. Petersburg, and which would reach that capital even before we should have proceeded half way on our road. The circumstance of my travelling in the company of an individual holding a public situation, very much lessened the many formalities to which a foreigner is subject on the Russian frontiers.

On leaving the office we were assailed by a

number of Jewish coachmen, who offered to take us to Riga by short journeys; but Mr. Koch, who knew the inconveniences resulting from this mode of travelling, paid no attention to them, and we proceeded to the carriage that was waiting for us at the post-house, when we left the village Palangen, which is inhabited by Polish Catholics and Jews, and is the only place belonging to Samogitia which is met with in proceeding towards the interior; the next district, which commences within a short distance of that village, being that of Courland.

The roads in Russia are measured by wersts, seven of which are equivalent to two French leagues. All the wersts are marked by wooden posts, painted with the national colours, and bearing a number, that denotes the distance from St. Petersburg. The length of each stage is graduated according to the nature of the ground, and is from eleven to twenty-six wersts. The charges of each relay are uniform throughout the empire, whether the traveller be a native or a foreigner; military men, however, pay less. With respect to the inns, they differ as in every country.

As the weather was very fine, we travelled on without stopping any where during the whole day, and towards evening reached a post-house

with voracious appetites. The master of it was an old German, who spoke French very fluently, and who told us he had been in the service of Frederic II. ; thereupon he entered into a long and tedious account of himself, and showed us the scars of the wounds he had received in the wars ; but, observing we were more anxious for our dinners than for the narrative of his exploits, he said he had a princely repast to offer us, with exquisite wine to boot ; but when the moment arrived, we found it impossible, hungry as we were, to do more than taste the filthy wine and indigestible dishes that were brought before us. To crown the adventure, our postilion was nowhere to be found, and all the horses being engaged for the suite of the empress-mother, we were unable to proceed. Wishing, however, to avoid spending the night at such a wretched hovel, we obtained a change of horses by dint of flattering the German, and paying him in full the unreasonable bill he presented to us.

The night was rather dark, and we had not seen the figure of our postilion, or even heard his voice ; but we suspected, by the slowness of his movements, that he was some old crony of his master. On arriving towards the end of the relay, he began to blow a bugle with all his might, surprising us with a number

of flourishes. Mr. Koch informed me that we were going to cross a small river, and that the blast with which we had been regaled was a warning for the bargeman. Our vehicle then stopped before the door of an inn, which stood on an elevated spot, and the postilion, alighting, asked Mr. Koch's permission to enter the inn to drink a glass of brandy, whilst the bargeman answered his sign. It was midnight, and we expected soon to cross the river; but after waiting a quarter of an hour for his return, and seeing that the fellow did not come out, I alighted and proceeded towards a window, where a light was perceivable. As I looked through it, I saw what I certainly did not expect, but what convinced me that the flourishes of his bugle were addressed to a very different person from the bargeman. Our postilion was sitting near a table with a huge flagon beside him, and a wench on his knee. Provoked beyond expression at this unseasonable courtship, I shook the window till it flew open, and, before my companion had time to alight and witness the scene, both the hero and the heroine came to the door of the inn, the latter holding a lantern in her hand, by which I observed she was an ugly kitchen wench of about eighteen, and he a young man of five-and-twenty. Dis-

pleased with my interruption, he muttered something at my impatience, and at the unseasonableness of my call, and again blew his bugle, though by no means so vigorously as he had before done, after which we gained the barge, and continued our way without farther interruption.

Although it was now towards the end of December, the weather was so extraordinarily mild, that I much doubt whether it was warmer in the south of Europe, a circumstance by no means common in this climate. In proportion as we advanced, the relays were better attended; and I was much struck with the fragrance emitted by the pine forests of Courland, which bordered each side of the road. Towards the close of the day, we reached the last post-house before coming to Mittau, the master of which was a young Courland officer, who had just retired from the imperial service, and who was slightly acquainted with Mr. Koch. He gave us an excellent dinner, and kept us company, relating several amusing anecdotes of Mittau; and when the moment of our departure arrived, he presented us with such a moderate bill of our expenses, as to convince us that he had not yet forgotten the practice of one of the few good qualities that are acquired in the military career, —disinterestedness.

At ten o'clock at night we entered Mittau, and alighted at the hotel of the Eagle. This was the first night we began to experience the rigours of winter.

Mittau, the ancient capital of the duchy of Courland, is far from being a populous town. Most of the houses are constructed of wood, and the remainder of brick; the streets are regular, and very clean. The palace of the ancient dukes is seen just at the entrance of the town on the road to Riga, and is the same in which the royal emigrants of France resided.

We left Mittau at noon on the following day. The frosts, which before our arrival there had already commenced, produced their ordinary effects, the rivers, lakes, and every sheet of water being frozen over. Half-way from that city to Riga, we crossed the river Grossbach over a bridge to which, in 1812, the advanced troops of Napoleon's great army reached.

Having, contrary to our custom, stopped some time at one of the post-houses, it was eleven o'clock at night when we came to the banks of the Dwina, which, by the accounts we had received from various travellers, we had been led to believe was still navigable; but the frosts had been so severe, that we found this broad river completely blocked up by the ice, and we were the



first who crossed its frozen surface. The postilion, who seemed as willing to serve us as the fellow, on the previous night, had been eager to serve himself, offered to take us over in the carriage without incurring any risk, and having trusted ourselves to his skill, we entered that imposing sheet of ice, the brilliancy of which was rendered doubly dazzling by the reflection of the moon ; and, after half-an-hour's incertitude, we succeeded in reaching the opposite bank. The streets of Riga were so solitary, that we lost much time and patience in finding some place where to spend the night : at length, we met with a lodging at an inferior hotel.

We remained two days at Riga. The first thing I observed, in going out of the inn, was a monument in the middle of the square, on the pedestal of which is an inscription both in Russian and French, transmitting to posterity the triumph of the former over the *European coalition*, when its independence was threatened ; and I remarked that no exception was made in favour of a nation which was, even at that time, struggling for its own independence.

The weather, though cold, was clear, and I proceeded to examine the part of the river over which we had crossed at midnight ; but the ice was now so thick, that the river was literally a

public walk, on which sledges, carriages, and skaters, were rapidly moving to and fro. In summer, this river is crowded with vessels of all nations. The citadel of Riga is finely situated. In it the unfortunate prince Ivan, who fell a victim to the intrigues, recorded in the history of the country, at the epoch of the Empress Elizabeth, met his tragic end.

Riga did not seem to me a very cheerful city. Mr. Koch, in order to compensate for the want of society, proposed our going to the theatre, of which he gave me a most brilliant description. On our repairing thither, I was so much disappointed both with the appearance and size of the house, that I could not help remarking the same to Mr. Koch, who, having seen a good deal of the world, was a stranger to that national fanaticism so common to men who have never travelled out of their own country. He laughed, and said that I should nevertheless find cause for amusement, and it was even so; for no sooner had the ladies of Riga occupied their seats in the boxes, than I fancied myself in some work-room; every one of them busily employing herself in knitting stockings, a labour which they performed with amazing dexterity of hand. This was to me a more novel and amusing spectacle than the performance, which

I did not understand. On leaving the theatre, I was curious to see if the ladies continued their knitting during their drive home, but I observed they had put up their work for the night.

As Mr. Koch's journey was to terminate half-way between Riga and St. Petersburg, he engaged a travelling vehicle, which, though open, was more comfortable than those furnished by the post-houses, and the driver of which agreed to regulate his days' journeys according to our pleasure. Our coachman was as cheerful and active as we had hitherto found most of our postilions dull and phlegmatic, and I should have been glad to have had his services to the capital, which is above five hundred and sixty wersts from Riga. Along the high road through Livonia are found, at short distances, filthy public-houses, called in the country *khartchamas*, before the doors of which are usually seen a multitude of wretched carts and sledges belonging to the peasants, who are so greatly addicted to brandy and strong liquors, that they spend whole hours in those places without paying the least regard to their horses, which they leave thus exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and which with themselves belong to the gentlemen or noblemen of the country. Nothing

proves so much the state of barbarism in which these men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree issued about this time by the Emperor Alexander, for partly emancipating some of the Livonian serfs. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, made all the resistance in their power to oppose that decree, the execution of which was at length entrusted to an armed force.

We spent five days in going from Riga to Dorpat, in the vicinity of which the family of my excellent companion resided. We passed some of the nights in the disgusting khart-chamas, Wolmery and Walque being the only two villages where we found better accommodation. In the inn of the latter we met a number of students returning to their homes for the vacation, and travelling together on foot, with the same good humour and unsubdued spirits as those whom I had often met in Spain.

On arriving at Dorpat, we alighted at a most comfortable inn, where my companion was well known. The night, so long in that country during the winter months, being very clear, we walked about the town, my friend taking great

pleasure in showing me the places which he had frequented from his infancy. Dorpat, though by no means a large city, is well built; and, according to my companion's account, there is much social intercourse among the inhabitants, which I the more easily believed, as I have always found the character of the Livonians kind and affable in the extreme.

The intelligence, received by Mr. Koch on our arrival here, obliging him to accelerate our separation, we took leave of each other as two old friends might have done, on my part receiving from him unequivocal proofs of a generous and sincere friendship. I am convinced that, had he not been obliged immediately to join his orphan sisters, of whom he was the only support, the term granted him for this visit being but short, he would have accompanied me to the capital. As it was, foreseeing the inconveniences that awaited me, he endeavoured in some measure to obviate them, by drawing up a very minute itinerary from Dorpat to St. Petersburg, which I still preserve as a memorial of his friendly conduct towards me, and by procuring me a *feuille de poste*, an indispensable requisite to proceed on my journey. He also gave me all the information he possessed re-

specting the capital ; and, as he was aware that I could not speak a single word of Russian, he taught me a few phrases, to relieve the pantomimic duties upon which I should be obliged to enter.

## CHAP. III.

Russian post-vehicles and postilions—Accident—The author proceeds through the snows in a sledge—His arrival at Narva—Approaches St. Petersburg—First difficulties—Russian nobles—Dr. Elisen—Interview with Prince Wolkonsky—Baron Rall—Festival of the Epiphany—Blessing the frozen Neva—General Betancourt—Visit to Romansow—M. Zea Bermudez arrives on a mission to St. Petersburg—Character of Prince Andrew Galitzin—Hospitality and generosity of the Russians—Friendship of Mr. S. L . . .—The author petitions Alexander for admission into the Russian service.

I WAS now to undertake my journey alone in a sort of post-cart, called in the country *telega*, resembling a box without a lid placed upon two coarsely made wooden axles, supported by four wheels, and drawn by two very small rough ponies. My portmanteau being placed across the cart, I took my seat on it, whilst the postilion, seated on a board in the front of the cart, guided the horses, which were most wretchedly

harnessed. We left Dorpat at the real post pace; but my conductor, who had about as much intellect as his horses, paid as little attention as they to the direction he was to follow, and we travelled on towards Riga, without my perceiving his mistake until we came to a rustic triumphal arch which had been prepared for the expected arrival of the Empress-Mother at some distance from Dorpat. To convince him of this mistake, I exhausted all the Russian phrases I had learned from my friend; but he seemed to understand my signs better, and took the opposite direction.

Hitherto there had been no falls of snow during our journey in Russia; but on the morning of my departure from Dorpat, the earth was covered with it, and as we advanced, it increased. The country, therefore, offered to me no object which might engage my attention, and as I could not make myself understood by my postilions, the time passed on heavily. I had been advised by Mr. Koch to urge these men forward by bestowing on them a few copper pieces, which in any other country in Europe would have been thrown in my face, but which were received by the Russian postilions with the most extravagant demonstrations of gratitude. Indeed, some of them threw themselves



on the ground, and embraced my knees, while the cracking of their whips, and the velocity of their horses, confirmed the sincere joy they felt.

This kind of encouragement on my part, however, had nigh been of serious consequence to me. We had passed the great lake of Peïpous, on which a number of fishermen have their dwellings, and earn their subsistence, when we reached the village of Schaudley, where, as at the former post-houses, I presented my license, and was immediately furnished with a *telega* and horses.

Perceiving that my new postilion was well inclined to serve me, I made the usual offer, and no sooner were we out of the village, than he set his horses at full gallop, rashly urging their speed when he ought to have checked it, till at length the horses became unruly, and he losing his command over them, the slight *telega* was dashed to pieces, and I was thrown to a great distance, striking my chest against a large stone; whilst the postilion, still holding to the forewheels, was dragged over the snow for a considerable distance, without my being able to afford him any assistance. After much trouble, and leaving my portmanteau on the road, I returned to the post-house, where I was immediately surrounded by several people, who ad-

ministered to me all except what I really wanted, but vainly endeavoured to explain. As the motion of a post-cart could not fail to be unpleasant as long as I felt the effects of my fall, and as the snow was so thick on the ground, I asked for a sledge, and after considerable trouble succeeded in making them understand the object of my wishes. My clothing was certainly not the best adapted for this mode of travelling, and in a climate too, the severity of which became greater as I advanced ; but persuaded that the danger of being dragged on through the snow in a sledge at a rapid rate could not be great, with my usual inducements I stimulated the conductors to hasten forward, anxious only to reach the place of my destination, and unmindful of the pain in my chest, which I thought would have no serious results. In four and twenty hours after my departure from Dorpat, I reached Narva.

On entering the city gates, a corporal asked for my passport, and soon after an officer came forward, who, seeing the state in which I was, advised me, in French, to take some repose at an hotel he mentioned, and desired the postilion to conduct me thither, assuring me he would take care I should receive my passport signed by the proper authority. Having arrived at the hotel, the

landlord, finding that I could not make myself understood, sent for a gentleman, who, like most people of his class in Russia, spoke French and German very fluently, and who was good enough to keep me company, and act as my interpreter. Although I found my chest much bruised and swollen, and was recommended immediately to procure medical advice, as soon as my passport was brought to me, I declared my intention of proceeding on my journey, being unwilling to make any stay at Narva. My obliging interpreter then hired a carriage for me, properly Russian, the coachman of which engaged to carry me to St. Petersburg in four and twenty hours, at a price extremely moderate.

This kind of carriage is so large that one may travel in it at full length. The coachman, standing up, drives three horses abreast, the reins being suspended to a wooden arch, rising about two feet above the neck of the middle horse, and supported by the shafts of the carriage. From the arch hangs a large bell, which is an indispensable appendage to a Russian travelling carriage. The character of the coachmen and postilions is uniformly cheerful throughout the empire, and offers a striking contrast to those of Germany. My present conductor, following

the directions given him by my interpreter, placed in the carriage a matrass which I hired from the landlord, that I might travel more comfortably, and towards the close of the same day, I proceeded on my journey.

On leaving Narva, we descended a steep hill at the foot of which meanders the river Naroussky, whose borders are celebrated in the life of Charles XII. of Sweden, as being the theatre where the greatest part of the essays of regular warfare were made, which gave rise to the organization of the gigantic armies of Russia.

We made a short stay at midnight at a tolerable good inn, situated in a solitary part of the road. The honest coachman did all in his power to make me understand the interest he felt for me, and his readiness to serve me ; but my chief anxiety was to know how far we were from St. Petersburg, a curiosity which however remained ungratified. From Narva to the capital I perceived a progressive improvement in the population, in the attendance on the road, and in the prospects of the country ; and just at the time promised by the coachman, we arrived at the numerous country houses which border each side of the road about a league from the capital.

On arriving at the gates, a corporal desired

me to alight, that I might speak with the officer on guard, who, seeing my indisposition, made many apologies, and begged that I would immediately return to the carriage, to which he accompanied me; at the same time mentioning the formalities I was to observe with respect to the police, and giving me some useful advice, saying among other things :—" You come from countries where any respectable person travels without a servant, and is every where well received; but here the masters of the hotels will think it strange that you should come unattended, and if I had one of my servants here at hand, I would with pleasure lend him to you, that you might avoid the disagreeable inconveniences which I fear you will experience."

With this I was partly acquainted from what Mr. Koch had mentioned of the difficulty of finding private apartments in St. Petersburg, owing to the want of a certain middle class, who, in most cities of Europe, let a part of their houses for the sake of economy. The event proved that the officer's apprehensions were well founded; for after driving about the principal streets for more than four hours, we could find no lodging. On arriving at the hotel of London, to which I had been recommended by the gentleman of Narva, I imagined I should gain admit-

tance by mentioning his name and recommendation ; but though I added many offers, I was not even listened to. They saw my want of good fur-dress and the rustic carriage, in which I arrived without any attendant, and they shut the doors upon me. I experienced the same treatment wherever I applied. At length, as we passed before the hotel of Europe, which is situated opposite the palace, and is doubtless one of the best, I made another attempt, but certainly did not expect to succeed. The master of the hotel, however, without evincing the least disinclination to receive me, conducted me to a large saloon (the only apartment he had then vacant) which I accepted without hesitation, requesting him to procure me a medical attendant to examine my chest, which had grown much worse during my day's journey. He gave immediate orders to this effect, procured me a servant to wait on me, and constituted himself my superintendent, little aware of the reduced state of my finances.

When the surgeon came to visit me, he ordered an immense number of leeches to be applied to my chest, a prescription, which, though it doubtless saved me from a serious illness, made great inroads on my diminished purse ; but I consoled myself by writing a few lines to

my good friend at Dorpat, fearing I should not find one in the capital who could so effectually console me.

Three days after my arrival, the inflammation being subdued, I prepared to make a salutary reform in the numerous retinue with which the serviceable landlord had supplied me, and to visit those persons, whom it was absolutely necessary I should see, to produce the desired change in my present desolate situation.

The Count of Romansow, an ancient personage of the court; Count Soltikow, a general, retired from the service, who had figured in a former epoch; the two brothers Tourgueniew,<sup>\*</sup> and Dr. Elisen, all three counsellors of state; General Betancourt, a Spaniard by birth, director of the bridges and roads of the empire, and enjoying the favour of the monarch; the bankers Livio, and the Baron Rall, with several other individuals of less note, were those for whom I had brought letters of recommendation. Mr. Kraft, the secretary of embassy at Berlin, had pointed out to me those who were more likely to forward the object of my journey; but the magnificent appearance of their houses, the lit-

<sup>\*</sup> The youngest of these gentlemen, being implicated in the late plot, was sentenced to death, but, according to public rumour, was fortunate enough to escape to Scotland.

the respect paid in that country to one dressed as a private gentleman, and without decorations, and the recent rebukes I had experienced at the hotels,—every thing contributed to intimidate me. Still, as my circumstances admitted of no delay, I endeavoured, from the moment of my recovery, to devise the best means to obtain my object.

On the day I intended to commence my visits, I put several questions respecting the persons I wished to see, to the landlord, who answered them in a laconic manner, adding dryly, “That, previous to my proceeding any where, I must accompany him to the police office.” Without making any remark on his change of conduct, which probably proceeded from a suspicion of the real state of my purse, I went with him to that office, where the whole business consisted in my being confronted with the information received from the frontiers respecting me. I was afterwards conducted by a servant of the hotel to the houses of some of the gentlemen for whom I had letters of introduction, and from whom I met with the kindest reception, a circumstance which encouraged me to form the most favourable omens.

The Emperor Alexander had just arrived from Germany, and the whole of the imperial family



was to assemble at St. Petersburg at the beginning of the year, to celebrate, as usual, the solemn festival of the Epiphany. Dr. Elisen, to show the esteem he entertained for the person who had recommended me to him, gave a splendid dinner, to which he invited several persons to whom he wished to introduce me, and who might be of service in forwarding my views, for the completion of which I was imprudently anxious.

Dazzled by the good reception I met with from the few persons I had seen, and urged on no less by my own impatience than by the advice of an individual, who was, perhaps, as ignorant as myself on these matters, a few days after my arrival at St. Petersburg, I unseasonably presented myself at the palace of Prince Wolkonsky, major-general of the Emperor, who no sooner ascertained the object of my visit, than, abruptly interrupting me, he said, turning his back on me, "It cannot be; his imperial majesty does not receive any more foreigners into his service; there are already too many in his army." This did not admit of farther argument, and I stood for a moment in the utmost confusion, ignorant that, according to the etiquette of the court, I had deserved the treatment I experienced. On my return to the hotel, I was harassed by the

most painful reflections, which I did not even dare to impart to any of my acquaintances, afraid of incurring their ridicule.

Baron Rall, who, notwithstanding his natural asperity of character, and his incessant mercantile occupations, had received me in the most hospitable manner, kindly presented me to his family, in whose society I endeavoured to forget the unpleasant check I had received; and learning, in my intercourse with them, that the baron had influential friends in Sweden, I tried to interest him in my favour, that I might obtain a passport, and proceed to Stockholm. To such ridiculous extremes is he driven, who has not sufficient experience of the great world.

As the balcony of my apartments was opposite the palace, I had a fine view of the gorgeous pomp displayed on the festival of the Epiphany, when more than forty thousand men of the imperial guard filed off before the palace. This festival consists in blessing the frozen waters of the majestic Neva; for which purpose a small wooden temple, richly ornamented, is erected in the middle of the river, to which the whole of the imperial family proceed on foot, followed by their numerous court, and the choir of singers of the Emperor's chapel,<sup>1</sup> whose harmonious

<sup>1</sup> The Greek ritual does not permit instrumental music in the temples of those who profess that religion.

canticles are by far more impressive and better calculated to inspire one with religious veneration than any other kind of music. On the procession arriving at the temple, the archimandrite blesses the waters, or rather the solid mass of ice which the Neva presents, and on which the greatest part of the troops and artillery perform their evolutions, returning afterwards to the palace in the same order of procession. If an unprejudiced spectator cannot help smiling at the superstition observed at this festival, his admiration must be equally excited at the imposing appearance of the imperial guard on this day. A more brilliant re-union of troops cannot be exhibited by any European nation.

As I had not yet presented myself to Count Romansow, nor to General Betancourt, who possessed greater influence than any of the gentlemen I had hitherto seen, I resolved to visit them. The latter received me with all the cordiality of a true countryman, and in a very different manner from what I had been led to expect by persons who were not friendly to him. This general, who had been acquainted with my father at Madrid previous to his banishment in 1807, caused by the political misrule of Godoy, and whilst he held the post of intendant of a province, was much amused with my account of the reception I had met with from Prince

Walkonsky. Unwilling to raise false expectations, he did not hold out hopes that might have caused me any disappointment, although from the first he entertained the intention of exerting his influence in my favour, as will be seen hereafter. General Betancourt was greatly distinguished by the Emperor for his talents, and for the probity of his character. His merits, however, did not fail to excite the jealousy and animosity of some of the envious courtiers, who, though powerful and influential, could never prevail on the Emperor to deprive him of the high post he so deservedly filled.

Having been advised by Betancourt to lose no time in visiting the Count of Romansow, who was a friend of his, I hastened to his house, where, on arriving in one of the anterooms, I took off my great coat, to the extreme surprise of the numerous servants who filled the hall, and who seemed to entertain so much contempt for my foreign dress, that I found the greatest difficulty in prevailing on them to announce me. At last I was conducted to a large saloon, and, after waiting a long time, saw a very old man enter, accompanied by another person, who remained standing the whole time of my visit. The count, whose manners were those of a courtier, invited me to a seat, and taking another

near me, held a small silver trumpet to his ear, and listened attentively to my short discourse; when he replied, sometimes in a very low tone of voice, and sometimes hollowing, accompanying his speech with a number of grimaces; put my letter in his pocket without reading it; made me a number of fine promises; and here began and ended all the favors I ever received from this singular personage, who probably thought no more of me.

The number of emigrant Spanish officers in the service of Russia amounted only to three, and these were employed in the interior of the empire, in the department under the direction of Betancourt, through whose influence they had some time since gained admission; but when I beheld, in the streets of St. Petersburg, officers similarly employed, and occupied in directing the public works, as if they were masons, I felt so great a repugnance for such occupations, whatever might be their pecuniary advantages, that I should have preferred the most subaltern situation in the army. This opinion is shared by most of the Russian officers, who are, perhaps, the most disinterested of their class in Europe.

After spending two weeks in the expensive lodging which I was compelled to accept in the

hotel of Europe, the landlord informed me that he expected a foreigner of importance, for whom he wished to prepare that apartment, and he begged me to remove to one adjoining it, which was better suited to my circumstances. I gladly acceded to his wishes, without having the remotest idea of who my neighbour was to be.

The day after my removal, I heard much noise in the saloon, where there was a door communicating with my room, and to my surprise, very distinctly heard my native language spoken by the new comers. Whilst I was still in my room, an acquaintance of mine, who occasionally came to see me, ignorant of my having changed my apartments, entered my former ones as usual, and soon discovered his mistake. From him I learned that my neighbour was no other than the Spanish minister plenipotentiary, Zea Bermudez, with his secretaries. I own that I was not much pleased with this news, and my first impulse was to leave the hotel; but the fear of not being able to meet the landlord's bill made me abandon this resolution. Fortunately my visitor, being acquainted with the master of the hotel, arranged matters, so that I soon obtained a more distant apartment.

The good understanding existing between Zea

Bermudez and General Betancourt's family, in which I experienced as much kindness and affection as if I had been a member of it, prevented my visiting them so frequently as I had been in the habit of doing, lest I might be the cause of some disagreement between them. By degrees, however, they were entirely suspended for the present; so that my principal care now was to avoid the snares, which I was almost certain would be laid for me by the agent of a government which had been the cause of all my disasters.

Baron Rall had three sons, with whom I was in habits of intimacy, and who, feeling a lively interest for my destiny, contrived an interview between myself and an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, a friend of theirs, whom they invited to breakfast at their house. On this occasion my past misfortunes formed the principal topic of conversation. The aide-de-camp, who was the young prince, Andrew Galitzin, soon evinced for me the warmest interest, and a desire to be useful to me; but unfortunately he had even less experience and circumspection than myself, qualities indispensable for those who, living under the gilded roofs of a palace, seek the favour of a monarch. His good intentions, however, were

prized by me as highly as they deserved, and the more so as I was convinced how difficult it is, even in such a numerous court as that of St. Petersburg, to meet with men who should feel interested for one who had suffered for political opinions, so rarely listened to by courtiers. If, therefore, I did not find in Prince Galitzin that support which he so sincerely promised, or the success which he so confidently anticipated, I had in him an active agent nearer the source of favour than was the old and serviceable Elisen.

On the other hand, the amiable family of Galitzin, which is one of the noblest of the empire, by extending the circle of my acquaintance, inspired me with hopes of obtaining, through the influence of the young prince, the object of my wishes. There were, besides, a multitude of circumstances which enhanced this valuable acquisition; but the detail of which would swell this narrative too much, though it would prove the well founded repugnance of the Russians to the prosperity of foreigners.

Several other friends, all military men, to whom I had been gradually introduced, kindly offered to assist me in obtaining my suit from the Emperor. The generous conduct I experienced from these gentlemen, whom I was fortu-



nate enough to inspire with a degree of confidence which rarely falls to the lot of an adventurer in any country, induces me to speak in warm terms of a people so little known, and whose national character has been so much misrepresented by authors, who, it is evident, have never been admitted into the private circle of a Russian family. Were I not afraid of wounding the modesty of a number of persons of note, who loaded me with favours and marks of friendship, I should find the greatest pleasure in detailing the numberless benefits conferred on me with the utmost delicacy, from the first moment of my arrival at St. Petersburg.

The first care of my friends, who suspected the real state of my circumstances, was to disencumber me from the debt I had contracted in the hotel, where I had been living six weeks. Count M . . . . came one day into my room, and told me that his friend Mr. Skaratin, whom I scarcely knew, being on the point of setting off for his estate beyond Moscow, where his family then resided, offered me an apartment in his mansion at St. Petersburg, and the necessary attendance. To refuse such an offer as this in my present situation would have been absurd ; I therefore accepted it with pleasure, and on the

following day removed to the house of Mr. Skaratin, where his steward presented me the serf destined for my service, whom I found equally faithful and attentive. Thus, fifty days after my arrival at St. Petersburg, I was furnished with magnificent apartments in a house abounding with every comfort, with servants always at my call, free access to the table and society of more than thirty families of distinction, and the equipages of some of my friends at my entire disposal. Such unbounded hospitality needs no comment.

A few days after my change of residence, General Betancourt sent for me, and informed me that, having just seen the Emperor, and related to him the reception given me by his major-general, he advised me to address a petition to his majesty, through the medium of some respectable individual, who should privately deliver it to him; and that, as he himself was in the habit of transacting business twice a month with the Emperor, he would take a fit opportunity of again mentioning the object of my endeavours. He then gave me salutary advice, recommending me to avoid a rencontre with Zea Bermudez, of whose intentions he knew something, but which he would always try to frustrate. He approved the moderation with which

I usually spoke of my former sufferings, and advised me to continue encreasing the number of my acquaintances in the higher circles, without whose influence it is very difficult to obtain any favours, either at the court of Russia or elsewhere.

Dining one day at Count M . . . . . 's, with several of his friends, Prince Galitzin, suddenly entering, threw his arms around my neck, and said, with his natural heedlessness, before the whole company, "I congratulate you upon your good fortune; your affair is concluded." These words, uttered by an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, who was that day on duty near his person, and who came expressly from the palace to bring me this agreeable intelligence, seemed to place the matter beyond a doubt, and made me entirely forget that I had not yet written the petition to have obtained any favour from a monarch, perhaps the most circumspect and prudent of our age; whilst most of those friends present, placing implicit confidence in Galitzin's words, and without enquiring what post I had obtained, congratulated me on my success, and repeatedly toasted me. Meantime Prince Galitzin, who could not long be absent from the palace, withdrew, leaving us as much in the dark as when we first met.

On the following day, before proceeding to General Betancourt's to acquaint him with this news, I called on Prince Galitzin, who had just returned from the palace, and who, on my asking him the details of this affair, answered, that he had spoken at length with the Emperor respecting me, and that his majesty had graciously replied that "he had heard of me, and the affair was already settled;" but that he had since ascertained that the affair to which the Emperor alluded had reference to his conversation with Betancourt. Whilst I was regretting my disappointment, Mr. S. L . . . , a friend of the Count M . . . . , entered. This gentleman, to whom I was then introduced, soon became the best and most constant friend I found at St. Petersburg; the vicissitudes which I have since experienced never having been able to damp the unabated ardour of his friendship.

The opportunity for having my petition presented to the Emperor at length arrived; but I was greatly puzzled how to express myself in such a manner as not to belie my sentiments, and yet say nothing that might be considered as offensive by the autocrat. In this dilemma, one of the personages who was in constant attendance at the palace, and who was well acquainted with the Emperor's opinions, undertook the task

of writing it for me. I shall here insert the first lines of the petition, that the reader may see the tolerance with which the chief (as he may be justly called) of the affairs of Europe received, at this period, opinions which are deemed by other sovereigns as treasonable.

“ SIRE,

After experiencing, during five months, the most horrible treatment in the dungeons of the Inquisition from a cruel and fanatical faction, I had the good fortune to escape, through the intervention of divine Providence. Compelled to fly from my native country, and having lost all, except my honour and the esteem of my countrymen, protectors, and benefactors, who procured me the means not only of evading the strict searches of my persecutors, but of taking sanctuary at the foot of your majesty's imperial throne, I humbly entreat your Majesty's protection.”

After a slight sketch of my military career, the petition terminated with begging his majesty to grant me an honourable place in the ranks of his army, in which it was my wish to serve until other events might one day permit my return to my country.

I placed this petition in the hands of a privy counsellor of the Emperor, charged with receiving all the expositions addressed to his majesty, and there it remained as if it had sunk to the bottom of a well.

## CHAP. IV.

Description of St. Petersburg—Palaces—Military parade—The square of Isaac—Statue of Peter the Great—Shops—Imperial Bank—Church and convent of St. Alexander Newsky—The choir in the Greek church—service—Discipline of the military at St. Petersburg—Trophies taken in Napoleon's retreat from Russia—Waxen image of Peter the Great—Manners and customs—Military genius—The Carnival—The Russian mountains; games on the ice so denominated—Description of this pastime—Palace of Tzarskoïeselo—Hussars of the guard—Improvement in the Russian army—Triumphal arch—Napoleon and Alexander—Remarkable religious festivals—Cathedral of our Lady of Kasan—Offerings of eggs—Return of spring—Visit to Cronstadt—Description of this port, and of the navy—Interesting anecdote.

WHILST my affair remains dormant in the hands of the Emperor, I will make a few observations on the capital and its inhabitants.

St. Petersburg is embellished with a multitude of palaces. The first of these, built by Peter the Great, is situated in a public promenade, called the summer garden, one of its

most remarkable objects, by its exquisite taste and workmanship, being the immense grating on the side of the Neva. An anecdote is related of an Englishman, who, having left England to visit this capital, had no sooner arrived before this palace, and admired the grating for a considerable time, than he immediately re-embarked to return home, saying that it was useless to go to farther expence by remaining any time there, as it was impossible he could see any thing more beautiful.

The palace, in which the imperial family resided during my stay here, is called the *winter palace*, and is on a line with the splendid building of the Admiralty. It has a quadrangular form, and is richly ornamented, the principal façade looking towards the Place d'Armes, and the other on the Neva. It communicates with a smaller palace, called the Hermitage, by means of a gallery constructed over an archway, through which the carriages pass. Here is seen a rich collection of pictures, among which are the portraits of Prince Eugene Beauharnais and the Duke of Wellington. There is also a collection of fine engravings, and many rare and precious objects. The theatre of the court is in the Hermitage.

There are other palaces belonging to the im-



perial family, but which are not inhabited, as the Marble palace, and that of Michael, where the Emperor Paul I., father of the reigning monarch, met a tragic end. Its appearance strikes one as singular in the present time, owing to the drawbridges, moats, and other hostile forms, which it still preserves, and which forcibly remind one of the Bastille. The Exchange is a very elegant and spacious building, situated near the Neva.

There is in the square of the palace a very large saloon, destined for the daily parade during the winter months, the complicated structure of its immense roof being an object of general admiration, as the whole battalion on duty manœuvres in this saloon with ease, under the orders of the Emperor, and in the presence of his numerous staff. There is still a larger one at Moscow, which was constructed under the direction of Betancourt. As the military etiquette of Russia requires that there should be a daily parade, the saloons are indispensable to shelter the soldiery from the rigour of the season.

At the other extremity of the Admiralty is the square of Isaac, which is symmetrically placed with that of the palace. The beautiful church from which it takes its name, one side

of the Admiralty, the façade of the senate-house, and the commencement of the bridge of boats, form the square, in the middle of which rises, on a rock of granite, an equestrian statue in bronze of Peter the Great, executed in the reign of Catherine II. by a French artist, who by this work has established his claims to immortality.

The Russian shops constitute a continuation of porticos in the form of a trapezium. It was built by a company of Russian merchants, and no foreigner is ever allowed to carry on any kind of business there. Near this edifice is the imperial bank, which was built exclusively for this object upon an excellent plan, much admired for its simplicity. On the opposite side, not far from the bank, is the palace of the Knights of Malta, the chapel of which is tastefully ornamented, the most distinguished catholic families contributing to its support by their liberal gifts.

The perspective, called Newsky, is a very wide and long street, which, commencing at the Admiralty, extends in a direct line as far as the celebrated convent of St. Alexander Newsky, a distance of three miles, intersected by three beautiful canals, which, during the summer months, facilitate the communication throughout the city. I attended a solemn festival, celebrated in

the great church of this convent, and I must own that the magnificence of it surpassed even that displayed in the principal cathedrals of Spain. But what is particularly pleasing to a foreigner at these festivals is the choir of singers, always extremely select. Often in my moments of melancholy have I found this recreation my best resource.

The barracks of the infantry of the imperial guard are almost all in the best quarters of the town, and those of the few cavalry corps stationed in the capital possess all the conveniences that can possibly be wanted for its internal regulations, and military instruction and exercises.

The extensive building of the staff office, situated in the Place d'Armes, and which has since been increased by adding to it the whole of the Hotel of Europe, which was contiguous to it, contains the different departments or sections which the general direction of the military affairs embraces, as well as a very well chosen library of elementary works on the military art.

Throughout the town are stationed a number of corps-de-gardes, the soldiers of which are obliged to do the honours to every officer according to his rank ; and, as it is not permitted to any of the latter to go without his uniform

and decorations in any part of the empire, the sentries are in a continual movement, and have never time for certain liberties which those of other countries often indulge in, contrary to the rules of discipline. Besides, the Emperor Alexander was in the daily habit of walking out alone in the uniform of a general, and would suddenly present himself where he was least expected, a circumstance which kept the soldiers constantly on their guard.

He likewise assisted every day at the parade without ever wearing a great coat, whatever might be the severity of the weather, his example being strictly followed by all the general officers, who were under the obligation of attending the parade, after which he gave audience in the saloon of the standards of the guard.

In the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is in the citadel, are seen the trophies of the French army, taken in their retreat from Moscow, some marshals' batons, and a great number of Turkish standards, many of which are stained with the blood of those from whose hands they were wrested. The state prison is in the citadel, as are also the treasures of the crown.

The saloons of the academy of sciences contain an infinite number of curiosities in animals, &c. and in costumes of the different nations of Asia and America. In a separate cabinet is seen in wax the statue of Peter I. in the same costume he wore on the day of his marriage with Catharine I. It is said to be a very strong likeness, and is most exquisitely finished.

In Russia, whoever is once received in the house of a nobleman, will always find a seat at his table. Nothing appears more singular throughout the empire than a bachelor, whether a native or a foreigner, living in retirement. There, all live either for society or war, and the youth show themselves as polite in the saloon as brave in the field.

The carnival in Russia is spent in games peculiar to that country, the chief of which is sliding down the ice or Russian mountains. These rise between forty and fifty feet, and are fifteen or twenty feet wide, the scaffolding with which they are formed being placed in the middle of an extensive plain of ice, that the sledges on their descent may find ample room where to spend the velocity of their motion. The steepness and smoothness of the mountain,

cause the sledges to descend at such a rapid rate, that for a long time after they are seen sliding on the plain of ice. It is calculated that a pistol ball fired from the mountain only gains one second in every four on the rapid motion of the sledge. When this stops, either by itself or by means of the hands, which serve for a helm and for oars, the gentleman slings it on his back, as he might his skates, and offering his arm to the lady who has accompanied him, conducts her to the steps behind the mountain, on ascending which they repeat their amusement.

\* Count M \* \* \* \* \* caused one of these mountains to be erected in his garden during the carnival. The assemblage of people, as is always the case, was very numerous, and they all successfully performed their descent. At length my turn came; but as it was not likely that a native of Cadiz could show much dexterity in this exercise, I was obliged to content myself with the part of clown in the piece, and ran a race with my sledge. Fortunately, presaging what befel me, I had taken the precaution not to invite any of the fair spectators to accompany me, as is the etiquette on these occasions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At balls the gentlemen are invited by the ladies to dance,

These private amusements, though attended by very select company, cannot be compared to the gay and animated scene presented on the Neva, which at this time is frozen from four to five feet thick. The inhabitants of both sexes hold here their games and sports. The shops are all shut and deserted during the period that these amusements last, which is called by the Russians the meat and butter week, because these and other provisions are rigorously forbidden in Lent by the Greek church, and the whole population flocks towards the Neva, where handsome sledges and beautiful horses are seen on all sides. Rope-dancers, booths, and tents, in which drink and provisions of every description are sold, form a part of this popular encampment. In the midst of these groupings, rise, in the form of pyramids, the Russian mountains, on whose steep sides is seen the incessant motion of people darting down in succession,<sup>1</sup> and

but at these amusements the contrary is the case. Both the lady and the gentleman sit in the sledge in the Asiatic manner, with their legs crossed, the lady in front, and the gentleman giving with his hands any direction he pleases to the sledge, which is placed on two skates in order to increase its velocity.

<sup>1</sup> Every descent from the mountain costs two copper pieces, called *kopēika*, which are equivalent to two farthings, and

adding to the pleasing confusion that prevails there.

In one of my sledge excursions with Dr. Elisen, I went to Tzarskoïeselo, an imperial summer seat, where the regiment of the hussars of the guard is stationed. Among the officers of this corps, with whom I associated most during my residence at the capital, was the young Popoff, to whom I am indebted for many civilities, and whose father, a senator, was the intimate friend of Potemkin, the celebrated minister of Catharine II. The magnificence displayed by this body of hussars prevents any but youths of wealthy families from entering this corps, their pay being scarcely sufficient to defray the salaries of their servants. When one reflects on the condition in which the Russian army was but a few years ago, and sees its present state, one cannot help admiring the progress which has since taken place, and which it entirely owes to the late campaigns. This improvement is observable even in the most trifling details of its military regulations.

At one of the entrances of Tzarskoïeselo, is a triumphal arch in bronze of exquisite taste, which, of course, are no great obstacle to the repetition of this pastime.



erected by the Russian senate to the Emperor Alexander, in honour of his campaign in France, and dedicated by him to his army. This flattering homage appears by an inscription in gold letters, on the cornice, in Russian on one side, and French on the other, which says, "To my dear companions in arms." The Emperor, on his return from the French campaign, caused his imperial guard to pass under it. Whilst I was admiring this arch, an old gentleman, to whom I had remarked "what a splendid sight such fine troops must on that day have offered," said to me, "Those sights may be considered as mere baubles. The whole of Europe would now be happy, had the French and the Russian emperors exchanged at Tilsit, in 1807, their crowns. This may appear a ridiculous idea; but many crowns must yet be lost and won on the borders of the Niemen. Alexander, with his handsome person, moderation, politeness, and, in a word, with his studied and subtle attractions, would have recalled to France its Henry IV., whilst we, with our modern Machiavel, would have hastened towards the Danube and covered with our armies the Byzantine soil. The great Greek confederacy, the only that can save Russia, would have been realized to the benefit of uni-

versal civilization. Asia, demanding conquests from an enlightened foe, presented to the offspring of the French revolution a wider field wherein to spend the rest of his military career, and benefit the world more effectually."

I also visited another imperial summer seat, called Petroff, situated at a short distance from St. Petersburg, in a different direction from that of Tzarskoïeselo, where I saw the new paper manufactory, under the direction of an excellent English mechanic, much esteemed by the Emperor. He showed us some very large sheets of paper, manufactured here, and which are used in the topographical labours and charts of the staff. At the back of the palace is a large artificial cascade, placed on an elevated spot, and facing the Neva, which empties itself here into the gulf of Cronstadt. I understand that, on a particular day in summer, the waters are made to play over the cascade, which, being lighted with an infinite number of reflectors, enclosed in crystal cases to preserve them from the damp, presents a most brilliant and variegated appearance, when its illuminated waters are seen from the Neva.

The Russians celebrate the resurrection at midnight. " This festival is announced precisely

at twelve by salutes from the citadel, at which moment the cry of "He has risen!" bursts from the mouth of every person, who, from the monarch to the humblest serf, embrace each other in token of forgiveness of reciprocal offences. Every member of the court, either civil or military, must be in the presence of the Emperor and Empress at the time when the cannon fires the signal, to participate in the embraces and felicitations caused by that event.

Desirous of seeing the celebration of this festival in the Greek cathedral of our Lady of Kasan, where I was told a numerous concourse of people were to be met, I hastened thither, and thanks to the elbowing which I had learned in London, I succeeded in reaching the nave of the church a few minutes before the cannon fired. The sepulchre was placed in the front of the tabernacle, and the popes, or priests, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, formed a procession similar to that of the Catholics before the resurrection, the church being magnificently illuminated. I was pressed on all sides by persons of both sexes, for in the Greek churches everybody without distinction, and even the monarch himself, must remain standing; but no sooner did the canticles, the bells, and the can-

non announce the *denoûement* of this religious solemnity, than I thought myself transported to the marriage of Canaan. Mutual felicitations were exchanged, in which I myself participated, as well as of the supper which the spectators had carried with them, consisting of pastry and cold meats, which they ate on the spot, in proof of the severe abstinence observed by them during the forty preceding days.

The whole of the capital is at this time illuminated, and on the following morning the etiquette requires that the ladies should be presented with what is called an Easter egg, ornamented with ribands and bows, in token of felicitation for the resurrection. The lower class offer real eggs, more or less painted; and the middle class porcelain ones, of which a great number is sold during these days, some of them at a very high price. When a lady receives the present, she offers her hand to the gentleman, who kisses it; and then bending forward, she applies her lips to his cheeks, a custom not at all indifferent to a man who is not habituated to this kind of salute.

The rigours of winter are felt here long after Easter; but the scene changes so suddenly in the month of May, that in less than a fortnight

the Neva becomes navigable, the snow disappears from the fields, and the trees soon re-assume their green clothing; the country-houses are immediately inhabited and enlivened by the rural fêtes, in which the Russians delight; the days lengthen as rapidly as the winter nights seemed endless; in fine, whether it be the strong contrast, or the endeavours of the Russians to profit of the few fine months that their climate allows, it is certain that in no country of Europe does the spring appear more smiling than in this. The first merchant vessels which enter the Neva are loaded with oranges and other fruits, the produce of warmer climates, of which there is a great consumption at St. Petersburg, many families being in the habit of going to Wassili-Ostroff, where there are houses exclusively destined to the sale of these articles.

When the Neva became navigable, Count M. . . . and his friend, Mr. S—. L—. invited me to a party to Cronstadt, in a steam-boat. In the dock-yard of this port, we saw several skeletons of ships; I say skeletons, because every thing necessary for their completion was there collected, except good sailors. The crew of a Russian man-of-war offers as ridiculous an assemblage as a battalion, a squadron, or a train

of artillery in North America. At the time we were at Cronstadt, they were fitting out a frigate, destined for the coasts of England and France, which was to transport there an unfortunate sister of Prince Galitzin, who was then with us. We saw the carpenters busily at work in preparing the cabin for her, and rendering it as commodious as possible. This young lady, who had married a young Russian of a very distinguished family, had the indiscretion to receive a Jesuit at her house, and such was the fatal ascendancy which that priest gained over her mind, that it became much impaired and troubled with a thousand confused ideas on religion. Her incautious husband, disregarding the good advice given him by some well-intentioned friends, paid no attention to this spiritual intercourse, till at length the lady lost her reason, and fell a prey to the most ungovernable fanaticism, to the great affliction of all her friends. The Emperor, who began already to be displeased with the improper conduct of the Jesuits, whom he had hitherto tolerated in Russia, issued, about a year after, his well-known decree, by which they were expelled from the empire; and having always felt a great attachment for the family of this interesting vic-

tim, he ordered that a frigate should convey her to foreign countries, her physicians being of opinion that she might derive much benefit from the new scenes she would witness, and from the society she would frequent during her residence there.

## CHAP. V.

Hostility of the Spanish minister, Zea Bermudez, to the author—  
Intimation given by Count Nesselrode—Interview with Zea Bermudez—General Yermolow—The author gains his suit with the Emperor—Saloon of models of the Russian uniforms—  
—Liberality of the author's friends—Military evolutions—  
Ceremonies observed at a marriage—The author quits St. Petersburg to join the army of Georgia—Journey to Moscow with Mamouff—Palace of Tzarskoïeselo.

Two months had now elapsed since I had delivered my petition to the Emperor, when General Betancourt informed me that the cause of this delay might be traced to the Spanish minister plenipotentiary, who was greatly incensed against me for not having presented myself to him, especially as I had been lodging in the same hotel where he resided, and knowing that he frequented some of the houses where I visited. This was to me incomprehensible; for, all things considered, it would have been preposterous that, in my situation, I should have offered my homage to the representative of a government by which I was persecuted; and, as I had never been acquainted with him in Spain, he



could have no claims to any personal consideration. The general urged that it was prudent I should take some steps to conciliate the Spanish minister, as his hostility could not fail to be highly prejudicial to the accomplishment of my plans, which he had hitherto endeavoured to thwart. But I succeeded, by such arguments as the above, in convincing him that Zea Bermudez had no reason to be offended at my conduct, as he could not find fault with me even in a political point of view, General Betancourt himself having often been a witness to the moderation with which I expressed myself respecting the scandalous proceedings of the Spanish government at this epoch.

A few days after this, I received a note from Count Nesselrode, appointing an interview with his excellence, who on my repairing thither said, after some prefatory observations, that his majesty could not admit me into his service without failing in those attentions that were owing to the representative of an allied monarch; that the Spanish minister, having learned that his majesty was disposed to favour me, had addressed a note to the ministry, in which he expressed his surprise that my petition should be listened to; and that, if his majesty acceded to it, he should consider it as an affront offered

to his sovereign. Lastly, the count said that if I did not remove these difficulties, the Emperor was resolved not to grant the favour I desired at his hands. I made to his excellency nearly the same observations I had made to General Betancourt; but as in similar cases the best arguments can be of little avail, the count expressed his regret that it was not in his power to remove the obstacle; but that he should be glad to hear of any favourable explanation taking place between Zea Bermudez and myself, in which case I might again call upon him without waiting a farther invitation.

Having left the count, I hastened to General Betancourt, whom I informed of what had just passed. On hearing it, he immediately ordered his carriage, and leaving the affairs in which he was engaged, proceeded to visit the Spanish minister, the expression of his countenance convincing me that the arguments I had urged had not been thrown away upon him. Indeed, considering his influence and situation, entirely independent of Spain, and the good understanding existing between him and the former, I doubted not but it would be easy for him to explain the matter unreservedly to Zea Bermudez.

On the evening of this day I was invited to a party, at which to my great surprise I met the

Spanish minister; the host and some of his friends having planned this to amuse themselves at our expense, by seeing that we took no notice of each other. Had I known that this joke had been previously concerted, I certainly would have waved all considerations, and shown Bermudez civilities which no compulsion would ever have extorted from me. "Spanish pride," observed an elderly gentleman with whom I was acquainted, tapping his snuff-box, and whispering in my ear with an air of raillery, "my dear friend, this in Russia is a ridiculous pantomime. The men laugh at it, and the ladies yawn." I was somewhat embarrassed when I remarked in several of the countenances of the persons present a confirmation of what the old man had expressed in rather plain terms; and I took the first opportunity of withdrawing, leaving him, whom my host called my adversary, master of the field.

Early on the following morning General Bétancourt sent for me, and addressed me thus; "My dear sir, you must keep the promise I gave yesterday. I saw the Spanish minister, and his complaint against you is, that you have treated him with so much reserve and contempt, that notwithstanding your having resided in the same house with him, and sometimes met him,

you have never shown him the least civility. In the situation in which you are, such conduct is not the most prudent. You ought to go and see him; explain matters frankly to him, and try to excite his generosity—every thing else is unseasonable and absurd.”

When he ended his to me unpleasant admonition, I repeated, with more vehemence than before, how repugnant it was to me to ask any kind of intervention from a person who, from his public character, represented a government which was the cause of all my calamities; adding, in the most softened terms, that I had hoped for a better result from his friendly interference. “You have not a moment to lose,” he said with some impatience. “The Spanish minister has owned to me that he has actually taken some steps against you.” I observed to him how disgraceful it was to see the representative of Spain persecuting an unfortunate Spaniard to the very boundaries of Europe. He owned that he was wrong. “In fine let us talk no more about it; I am not at liberty to tell every thing. You are in a situation that requires the utmost prudence; you must see him. I am anxious to know the result of your visit, for I take as lively an interest in your affairs as in my own; but be as discreet as circumstances require.”

Repugnant as this step was to me, I promised him I would go the next day to see the Spanish minister, as I stood in need of this time to prepare myself for a conference which I expected would be as disagreeable to the latter as to myself. The greatest part of my friends with whom I was in habits of intimacy had no direct influence in the ministry; but they had all the necessary tact and experience to advise me how best to act in this singular visit, when I should be called to give the last proof of moderation required of me in this country.

On the following day I went to the Hotel of Europe, and presented myself to the Spanish minister, who, having desired those who were then with him to withdraw, politely invited me to be seated. He commenced with a long digression on affairs which had nothing to do with mine, his language being that of a repentant liberal, relating among other things his first steps in favour of the constitution, when in 1812 he came as an envoyé to the head-quarters of the Emperor to receive his sanction to that code, and afterwards introduced the topic in which I was most interested, saying in the most polite manner, that he should have been happy to have seen me before. "I am informed," he added, "that you have petitioned the Emperor to admit you into his service."

"Yes, sir; I have come to St. Petersburg with no other view; but my adverse fortune pursues me even here, and hitherto I have not been able to succeed."

"But have you reflected well upon it?"

"I have most maturely."

"But you are fully aware that it is not at all common, or fitting, to see Spaniards enlist under foreign banners like the Swiss, now in one country, now in another, always wandering, and always adventurous."

"But, sir," I replied, "it is still a greater disgrace, particularly in the age we live in, to see so many of us suffering under the heavy and unmerited wrongs which have compelled us to become wanderers in foreign countries."

"Do not you think there is a means of conciliating every thing," he continued, interrupting me, "before you give more publicity, by the resolution you have taken, to the domestic troubles of our country, which we are all obliged to conceal, that our national reputation may not suffer thereby?"

"Sir, my conduct in this respect must be known even to yourself. I have always avoided speaking of the Spanish government, and if hitherto I have not paid you a visit, it is not because I wished to offer you an incivility, but

because I was afraid that, had I done so, my attention might have been misconstrued into an insult."

"I am perfectly satisfied; but I am going to make you a proposal which I think you will approve of. Would you not like to return to Spain, assume your former rank in the army, and serve under the orders of Count Abisbal, who is to command the great expedition which is fitting out for South America? Once united to your companions in arms, the government will forget the past. I can positively answer for the favourable result of this proposal, if you accept of it. I will besides defray the expenses of your journey either by land or sea. I know that I can make you this offer. The king knows my conciliatory intentions; I am certain that his majesty will fully approve of them."

"Sir, your good intentions are not for me a sufficient guarantee. If I cannot enter the service of Russia, my situation will be painful indeed; but I will bear up with it, and never will I avail myself of such a proposal."

After many other plausible arguments from the minister, whether sincere or not I cannot say, I told him that I was aware of the steps which he had taken against me, and that my wish was exclusively to be admitted into the service

of the Emperor. In taking leave of him, he said that in future he would act as became a gentleman. Such was the result of an interview, which lasted two long hours, and which I thought would have terminated in a manner equally unpleasant to both, and injurious to my interests.

I went to General Betancourt immediately after, as he had requested, and when he heard the substance of the interview, he congratulated me, and mentioned some other favourable circumstances relating to a conversation he had lately had with the Emperor respecting me, which he had till now thought proper to conceal. The family of the general, who had much esteem for the Spanish minister, and who felt no less interested in my destiny, manifested their joy at this favourable turn in my situation, in a manner which reminded me of my own family; for notwithstanding their living in the midst of a court which is not the best adapted for cherishing such sentiments, and notwithstanding their having left Spain a great many years ago, they still preserved the warmest attachment for every thing connected with their native country.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The daughters of General Betancourt embroidered, in the year 1812, the standards of a Spanish regiment, formed of the prisoners taken during Napoleon's campaign in Russia, and who were afterwards equipped by Alexander, and sent



My friends, to whom I communicated the particulars of this interview, were of opinion that the result would be favourable, and that I ought to lose no time in presenting myself to Count Nesselrode; but believing that the Spanish minister might dislike my residence in the capital, and that if I obtained the favour I had solicited in some regiment stationed at St. Petersburg, I should not be able to support the great expense to which officers are here subject, they all advised me to declare to the count, on the first interview, my wish to serve in the army of Georgia, the general-in-chief of which, Yermolow, had rendered himself an object of general admiration and esteem, not only to all the officers who had served under his orders, but to the people under his government.

Well convinced of the necessity of removing from the capital, and of serving under the orders of a general who would do justice to my good intentions, I no sooner learned from Count Nesselrode that the principal obstacle was set aside by the Spanish minister himself, than I manifested to his excellence my wish of being

back to Spain, under the command of Colonel Don Alexandro O'Donnel, brother to Count Abisbal. It was called the Imperial Alexander, and has distinguished itself in the defence of the national cause till after the disasters of 1823.

employed in Georgia.<sup>1</sup> I immediately perceived by his countenance that I had advanced a step towards my admission, and that my friends were right in advising me to make this declaration.

During some weeks my affair remained apparently dormant, until at length General Bétancourt, who took the first opportunity of speaking to the Emperor about my petition, informed me that I would soon be relieved from my uncertainty, and that, had I not demanded to be employed in Georgia, I would not have obtained the object of my petition.

At length, on the anniversary of my flight from Madrid, I learned from Count M . . . . ., that my admission into the service of Russia was announced in the *prikaz*.<sup>2</sup> Immediately a friend of mine and myself hastened to the printing-office of the staff, where my companion read to me the following paragraph :

“ His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased, in the sitting of May 16th, 1819, held at St.

<sup>1</sup> The Russian courtiers call Georgia the *Warm Siberia*, because those officers, whose political notions are thought too liberal, are sent to that country. They say that this *sobriquet* was first applied by Alexander himself.

<sup>2</sup> A military official gazette, published daily at St. Petersburg.

Petersburgh, to issue the following order. Nomination to the service—for the cavalry. The lieutenant-colonel of the Spanish army, Van Halen, admitted into the rank of major in the regiment of dragoons of Nijegorode.

(Signed) Prince Wolkonsky,  
Chief of the Staff.

On the following day I was presented to the sub-chief of the staff, Mr. Mentchikoff, with whom I conversed for some time, and who approved the election I had made of serving under the orders of Yermolow, promising to give me good recommendations on my departure.

There is at St. Petersburg a place called the *Saloon of Models*, which contains the equipments and accoutrements of every regiment, both cavalry and infantry, composing the imperial army. Every change, which takes place often under the direction of the Emperor himself, begins with the model, which is deposited in the saloon, whilst another perfectly similar is sent to its respective regiment. Thus the most scrupulous uniformity is observed both in the fashion and the colours. The tailors and other artisans repair to the saloon for their instructions, and any officer may completely equip himself at St. Petersburg, though his regiment be on the frontiers of China.

As the etiquette required that I should immediately assume my uniform, that I might present myself to the military authorities, I visited the saloon to give orders for my complete equipment; but my friends, rejoiced at my good fortune, had been beforehand with me, and were secretly employed in providing every thing I could stand in need of; so that, before I had given any orders, they presented to me all that I could possibly desire, and even assisted me in putting on my uniform, after which they conducted me to a splendid banquet. Here I was surrounded by most of my friends, who had all assembled to celebrate my honourable admission into the Russian service. This was for me a truly memorable day. Neither jealousy nor dissimulation disturbed these happy moments: sincerity, deep-felt interest, and esteem for me, were the only feelings evinced, and, I am sure, entertained by these kind and generous friends.

Owing to the reciprocal aversion existing between the mercantile and military classes in Russia, I no sooner assumed my uniform than, to my regret, I was obliged to renounce the society of almost all the merchants whose houses I had frequented, and to whom I was indebted for many civilities, while my inter-

tercourse with a certain class of people naturally became more frequent and friendly.

As an officer of the Russian army, it was incumbent on me to present myself to the Emperor; but owing to the circumstance of his majesty having, according to custom, left the capital with his family for his summer palace of Tzarskoïeselo, which is twenty wersts from the capital, and the daily audience<sup>1</sup> having ceased, the day of my departure approached, without my having been able personally to testify to his Majesty my deep gratitude. Anxious to do this, I was advised by my friends to attend to the fields of instruction of the imperial guard at Tzarskoïeselo as any other officer, curious to see the feigned battles which were occasionally given there in the month of June. I chanced to go one day when a ludicrous occurrence took place, which excited the laughter of the spectators. One of the columns of attack, which, on changing its direction to reinforce the centre of the line, was to take at the point of the bayonet a village which was supposed to be the pivot of the operations of the

<sup>1</sup> Military audiences, whether before the Emperor or his generals, always take place at the time of the parade; and once the *summer-camp* established, the daily parade ceases.

enemy, had scarcely reached the required distance to commence the intended charge, when they saw on the side of the village some captains of merchant vessels, and several English clerks, most of them on foot, and the rest badly mounted, who, far from knowing the importance attached to that point, had chosen it to be better able to see the manœuvres. On seeing that motley group, the young officers of the guards, who commanded the charge, took it into their heads to accelerate their pace, and no sooner was this observed by the former, than they all dispersed over the field, their long coats floating in the wind, and with no other defensive weapons than their telescopes. The Emperor, who saw this farce, and remarked that it afforded no pleasure to the English ambassador, gave immediate orders to have an end put to it.

My extreme anxiety to express my gratitude to his majesty remained unsatiated, and I was the more sorry for it, as it was my intention, should the Emperor have touched on the affairs of Spain, to have described them as they really stood; for though I have not the presumption to believe that I could have succeeded in giving a new bias to his policy, it was always a great step gained that he should be correctly informed of the real state of my unhappy country, a zeal

which his majesty could not attribute to motives of personal interest, since the favour he had just conferred upon me had already gratified such expectations.

One day that I conversed on this subject with the same elderly gentleman I have already mentioned, he said, to rectify me in my opinion, "If the Emperor had felt any interest for you, he would have addressed himself to you, and, according to his custom, questioned you. He has received you into his service solely to put an end to the importunities of those who openly protect you, as well as to please General Betancourt, whom he so greatly favours. I know positively that Nesselrode has been several times with Betancourt, before his majesty adopted this determination, to see if it could be dispensed with; but those who have advised you to ask to be employed in the army of Yermolow, knew very well that it was only by such means you could succeed in your object; for believe me, my dear friend, whatever opinion the Emperor may have been made to entertain respecting your political sufferings, it is enough that you have the reputation of a patriot to be received by him only to be sent to the *warm Siberia*. Betancourt wished that you should remain here, that he might continue his protec-

tion to you ; but he has found insurmountable obstacles on the part of the Emperor. I know this through a good channel, and that general has been obliged to remain content with seeing you become a Caucasian. But every thing has its compensation. You are going to serve under the orders of one of our first generals. You will admire him, and learn much from him, should you be employed near his person. I know well the character of Alexis Petrowitch (Yermolow), and your situation, zeal, and activity, will excite his interest for you. You see that my opinion does not coincide with that of your protector Betancourt. At St. Petersburg they would have made a smart parade officer of you ; but Yermolow makes good soldiers. You love your country too much to be considered by us in the light of the many foreign mercenaries who are now in the service of Russia, and whose pretensions to knowledge, which for above a century we have too dearly paid for, renders them always intolerable."

I could relate a number of anecdotes which characterize this singular man, with whom I was on terms of intimacy, more on account of his eccentric character than for any other reason, as he never approved any of my steps, nor felt the least interest for any of my friends. Though a



Russian, and a military man, he disliked every thing connected with the army. He had seen and read much, and there were few things that could surprise him. He knew a number of anecdotes of the court, each more singular than the other; and I received from him a present of an important manuscript, which, greatly to my regret, I was obliged to burn on leaving Russia, and which contained many interesting circumstances relating to the latter days of Paul I., to the wily conduct observed by the chief of the conspiracy, and to the assassination.

One day that I met him in his carriage, he invited me to go and see a ceremony which he knew I had never witnessed in Russia. I told him I could not go, for I was much engaged. "Never mind," said he, "you must learn how to take things calmly. You must come with me, if it be but for a moment, to see a marriage according to the fashion of my countrymen." Having entered the carriage, we proceeded to a Greek church, where we found, in the middle of a circle formed by a numerous assemblage of relations, guests, and other spectators, the bride and bridegroom standing beside each other, before a priest, who had commenced the ceremony an hour previous to our arrival. During the whole of this time the bridesmaid and man

were obliged to hold over the heads of the betrothed two heavy crowns, richly ornamented; but what principally amused me was the immobility of the latter, who seemed rather converted into statues, than animated by that ardent passion which accompanies this most important act of a man's private life. "Well!" exclaimed my companion, "what do you think of it? Have I done right, after fifty years celibacy, not to allow myself to be crowned either in the Greek or Roman fashion. May God render this young couple happy, but I like not their legitimacy! You may now take my carriage, and proceed to your affairs, for I must remain here; and when you are among the Circassians, compare their marriage ceremonies with ours."

Convinced of the necessity of hastening my departure from St. Petersburg to join my regiment in Georgia, I made the necessary preparations for a journey of five hundred post leagues. Previous to my departure, I had the pleasure of seeing at St. Petersburg my excellent companion, Mr. Koch. He seemed much surprised at seeing me in my new costume; but I perceived, by his countenance more than by his expressions, that he had himself taken as active a part in contributing to my success, as it was possible for one at such a distance.

General Betancourt, whose conduct towards me had always been that of a father, had left the capital to inspect the works of the interior, which fell to his extensive department, two days before the prikaz announced the result of his efforts; consequently I was deprived of the pleasure of presenting myself to him in the Russian uniform, and again expressing my gratitude.

Being now furnished not only with letters of recommendation, but with a little Portuguese negro servant, who had been presented to me by Prince Boris Galitzin, and a carriage provided with every thing I could possibly want, and which my friends had lavished on me with their usual generosity, I prepared for my departure, presenting to one of them the only gift I had in my power to bestow, but which was the best adapted to remind him of my residence among them; namely, the trophy<sup>1</sup> I gained on the night of my escape from the Inquisition.

One of my most intimate friends, Mr. Mamoff, an aide-de-camp of the major-general, who

<sup>1</sup> Besides this memorial of my sufferings in the Inquisition, I had brought from Spain another equally interesting to me, which I placed in the hands of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex at his especial request, and with the approbation of those from whom I had received it. It consisted of

was charged with a topographical mission to the field where the battle of Smolensko was fought, being about to depart, invited me to accompany him as far as Moscow. I ordered my servant to precede us with the carriage, and on the 23rd of July joined my new travelling companion, and met at Tzarskoïeselo all my friends, who were assembled at the house of Kruglikoff, captain of hussars of the guard, to bid me farewell. The weather was so beautiful, and the loneliness of this place, which the court had just left, so inviting, that our parting was prolonged till a late hour at night. We employed part of our time in visiting the palace, the gardens, and the great rotunda, which the Empress Catherine II. had caused to be built with the sole object of celebrating there certain private banquets, without being seen, heard, or observed by any of the attendants; the seats, plates, dishes, and every thing requisite for a sumptuous banquet being drawn up and down

a large parchment, in which the most prominent circumstances of my sufferings and escape were sketched in an allegorical manner; with a brief explanation of those events, and the private signatures of those who had figured in them written in the centre. It had been given me by my friends of Madrid on the night I took my leave of them, as a token of their attachment and esteem for me.

by machinery according to the signals of the bell belonging to each seat, and the demand of the particular dish wanted written in pencil. There is a saloon in this palace, where the numerous costumes of the different countries of the empire are collected. With respect to the truly Russian costume, I had admired it, three days before my departure from St. Petersburg, on a young, beautiful, and accomplished lady, who, to oblige me, had put it on, and danced the national dance. It is not possible for me to describe it; but it is without contradiction one of the finest of any country in Europe. There is besides a cabinet containing a multitude of relievos and works in amber. This is all, either in this or any other of the imperial palaces, that will be likely to engage the attention of those who have once seen the interior magnificence of royal palaces in Spain.

In the gardens of Tzarskoïeselo there is, among other curious things, the tomb of Zemire, a favourite little dog of Catherine the Great, on which an epitaph written by Count Ségur is inscribed.<sup>1</sup>

Previous to our final separation, we sat down to supper, which we enlivened by singing Spanish patriotic songs, that many of my friends

<sup>1</sup> See *Mémoires de Monsieur Ségur*. vol. II. p. 327.

had learned from me, and at midnight we all rose from table, and I bid adieu to men from whom I had experienced the most noble and hospitable conduct, the remembrance of which will never be erased from my mind

## CHAP. VI.

Travelling between St. Petersburg and Moscow—Military colonies—Grand canal—Woldai—Twer—The country described—First sight of Moscow—Agreeable stay at Moscow—Present appearance of the ancient capital—Statue of Kouzma Mininn—Wladimir—General Betancourt at Nijnei Novgorod—Great building in which the fair of St. Macarieff is held—Internal commerce described—Steam-boats on the Wolga—Otto of roses—Tea brought overland from China—Merchants—Boukharee Tartars—Life of Napoleon written in Arabic—Camera obscura—Variety of elegant costumes—English traveller—The author's meeting with his Spanish friends—Fair of Nijnei Novgorod—Serf comedians.

IMMEDIATELY after taking leave of my friends, I entered the carriage with my travelling companion, and we proceeded on our way to Moscow. On the next morning, the 24th, we arrived at the fourth relay, called Toffna, where we breakfasted. In no country is posting performed at such a rapid rate as in Russia. It surpasses that in the south of France, and even the velocity of the posting on horseback in some parts of Spain.

We arrived at about noon at Podberezie, where an excellent dinner was served to us, though, to avoid repetition, I ought to remark here that the attendance from St. Petersburg to Moscow is equally good. We then continued our way, and succeeded in crossing the Wolkoff, thus avoiding a circuit of thirty wersts, which otherwise we should have been obliged to make by passing through Novgorod, a city to the right of that river. Not far from this place are the celebrated military colonies,<sup>1</sup> which have been so much spoken of in Europe, and which at present, according to the opinion of many, are neither military nor agricultural—they are nothing. In former times those places were the cradle of the famous Novgorodian Republic.

At seven in the evening we arrived at Bronnitsi, and continued travelling the whole night on an excellent road, which but a few years ago was impassable. At day-break we reached Krestzi, and entered a road which for a considerable distance runs near the banks of the great canal,

<sup>1</sup> The same elderly gentleman residing at St. Petersburg, of whom I have already spoken, also presented me with a manuscript treating of those establishments, and written with considerable talent; but which I regret to say I lost in England, with several other papers which I had left in the care of a friend of mine.



which the extraordinary genius of Peter I. caused to be made, to open a communication between the Baltic and Caspian seas, and which has been lately bordered with granite. Although during the whole morning the road was by no means favourable to the horses, at three in the afternoon we reached a village called Woldai, the situation of which is extremely picturesque, being on the borders of a lake in which are a number of islets, and surrounded by beautifully diversified hills, a Greek monastery, which in former times possessed an extensive authority over the adjacent country, forming a prominent feature in the perspective.

Whilst dinner was preparing at a very good inn where we stopped, Mr. Mamonoff and myself went to bathe in the lake, the heat, which was overpowering, rendering this ablution very pleasant; and on our return to the inn, we sat down to an excellent dinner with encreased appetites. In proportion as we advanced, the road became worse, the great quantity of snow which covers the earth during seven or eight months in the year preventing its acquiring the necessary solidity. In many places it is still formed of the boards with which Peter I. caused it to be covered for several hundred wersts, and which occasion in summer a very disagreeable

motion, while on the other hand they seem better adapted to injure the carriages than to remedy the inconveniences of a swampy soil. Betancourt, who was entrusted with the care of removing these obstacles, had already made some progress towards attaining that object.

On the 26th, at noon, we stopped a moment at Torjok, in which place there are some excellent leather manufactories, and where we bought a few articles. At nine o'clock p. m. we arrived at Twer, where tea was served to us in a style that would not have disgraced the best hotel in England. As from May to August the nights in this region are so short, the heat and the bad roads rendered our travelling here extremely tedious. It now and then reminded me of Castille; the country also abounding in large monasteries, which possessed considerable wealth when the Russian government were less acquainted with their true interests.

As we approached Moscow, the country assumed a more cultivated aspect, and numerous villas adorned the prospects on each side of the road. On reaching an elevated spot about eight wersts from Moscow, this celebrated city burst upon our sight, spreading over a considerable space of ground, the famous Kremlin rising amidst a multitude of palaces, and the gilded cupolas of

the numerous churches, rendered doubly brilliant by the rays of the setting sun, offering a sight as novel to me as it was splendid and imposing. My companion, who had made the campaign of Moscow against Napoleon, pointed out to me the road by which the vanguard of the great army came, a point which, notwithstanding the distance, I was enabled to distinguish very clearly, owing to the elevation of the road through which the French reached the city, and on the highest part of which the government have the project of erecting a sumptuous temple to perpetuate the memory of it. On hearing from my friend the interesting account of the burning of Moscow, in which so much wealth was consumed, it was impossible, on casting one's eyes on the city, not to be struck with awe and admiration.

About seven wersts from the city, we saw to the left of our road a palace which had been the residence of Peter the Great, and farther on, the state prison, standing in an isolated situation, and surrounded by a high wall. We entered the city at eight o'clock in the evening, and experienced none of those difficulties which I met with on my arrival at St Petersburg.

When, in Russia, an officer is on the point of setting off for the place of his destination, the minister of war delivers to him a *feuille de poste*,

and the exact sum required to defray the expenses of posting. Thus the peasantry are never called upon, as is the case in Spain and other countries, to furnish the military with the means of conveyance, to the great detriment of agriculture.

My affairs at Moscow were confined to a visit to the governor-general, by whom my *feuille de poste* was to be signed; but the negro, whom I had sent from St. Petersburg with my carriage, had taken so little care of it, that I was obliged to dispose of it, and procure myself another, more fit for travelling, which is called in the country *kibitka*,<sup>1</sup> and without which it is very likely I should never have reached the Caucasus in a condition to perform any service. This detained me four days at Moscow, the first and last of which my companion and myself dined with the lady of one of our best friends at St. Petersburg, and the second with the family of Prince Andrew Galitzin, who had just arrived from their country-house in the vicinity of Moscow. General Poltarasky, commandant

<sup>1</sup> This vehicle resembles a cradle, and is covered with oil-skin. It has two seats in front, one for the coachman, and the other for the servant, and is supported by four wheels, but has no springs.

of one of the brigades in garrison here, and greatly attached to the chief under whose orders I was going to serve, was a member of this family. My short sojourn at Moscow did not permit me to examine the objects worthy of notice which are to be seen in a city so celebrated in the annals of our times, and which by its situation will not fail to figure in all the political events that may take place in Russia.

Moscow and the numerous villas adjoining it spread in a uniform manner over a circumference of forty wersts. The Kremlin rises majestically almost in the centre of the city, and is surrounded by several hundreds of field-pieces, taken on the retreat of Napoleon's grand army. Near this palace are seen the Russian shops, and immediately after, the numerous palaces of the Muscovite nobility, on which the ravages committed by the flames are no longer observable. Although this city has been so long the residence of the autocrats, and the principal theatre of their tyranny, there is a monument, which, even in Philadelphia, would excite the interest and veneration of every patriot; namely, an extremely well executed statue in bronze of Kouzma Miminn in the costume of a citizen. This man, who was a butcher of Nijnei Novgorod, succeeded, in one of the great conflicts to

which his country was exposed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in rousing the energies of his countrymen, and in assembling a respectable force, which he placed under the command of a worthy and valiant man, who raised the siege of Moscow, and expelled the invaders from its soil.

The streets of Moscow are very wide, but they are not so clean as those of St. Petersburg, nor is there that gaiety and bustle which is the predominant feature of those capitals where much commerce is carried on. The people, however, are even more hospitable, and the society more easy of access than at St. Petersburg. Had I accepted all the invitations I received, I must have remained at Moscow several weeks.

The direct road to the Caucasus, or to Persia, is through Toula, (a place celebrated for its manufactories of arms,) and continues afterwards by Woronèje towards the Don. That of Nijnei Novgorod, where at this time was held the great fair, is considerably removed from the former; but as General Betancourt happened to be in this city, and I was desirous to bid him farewell, I made this circuit with pleasure. On the 31st of July, having parted from my travelling companion, who took the road to Smolensko, I followed in the opposite direction,

shut up with my books and my young negro in the kibitka. This road was in rather better condition than that from St. Petersburg to Moscow, and the travelling proportionally expeditious.

Having experienced a long delay at Poltava, I was prevented from reaching Pokrow till late in the afternoon ; and passing afterwards through Lipna, where I stopped a short time at an inn conducted in the English style, of which several are met with in Russia, I continued travelling the whole night at a rapid rate, and at the break of day entered Wladimir, the capital of the government of the same name, formerly the residence of the persecuted court of Russia, and at present one of the finest and cleanest cities of the interior. The public promenade borders the road conducting to the town, and extends to the river, which is crossed by a floating bridge.

At the next relay in Baràkova, finding that all the horses were engaged for the colonel-general of the hussars of the guard, I hired horses of a peasant, and set off before him to avoid any farther delay. At the close of day I reached Soudagda, where there are other military colonies, similar to those of Novogorod, and early in the morning, Mourones, the capital of another government. It is situated on a hill

overlooking the great river Oka, which is crossed by a barge. The great number of windmills that are seen here reminded me of Memel; but the surrounding country is much finer, being fertilised by the waters of the river, and extremely well cultivated.

On the 4th of August, at day-break, I arrived at the heights from which the city of Nijnei Novgorod is seen in the form of an amphitheatre on the confluence of the two majestic rivers, the Oka and the Wolga. In one of the angles formed by their junction, and on the opposite side of the town, stands the building where the celebrated fair is held. I reached the city so early in the morning, that it was with much difficulty I found a place where to alight, the inns here being for the most part very inferior to those found in the other cities in Russia. Having immediately sent a servant to ascertain whether General Betancourt was still in town, I learned with pleasure that he would be glad to see me without delay, and that he insisted on my taking up my quarters with him during my residence here.

The city of Nijnei Novgorod is very celebrated in the annals of Russia, and still preserves some antiquities. The fair held here, known by the name of St. Makarieff's fair, because it ori-



ginally terminated on the anniversary of the festival of this saint, is, according to the general opinion, the most numerous attended of any in Europe. Formerly it was held at a short distance from town on the banks of the Wolga, and on the estate of a nobleman of the country. It is asserted that the magazines and other buildings for the fair, which produced a considerable revenue to the proprietor, were intentionally set on fire and entirely consumed, and that the nobleman was prevented from rebuilding them. The Emperor Alexander then ordered an edifice to be built exclusively for this object, which should unite solidity with convenience, and offer such advantages as should invite merchants to concur and increase the revenues of the crown. General Betancourt formed the plan of the building, and inspected its execution, which was exclusively carried on under the immediate direction of Spanish military engineers.

As this edifice is erected on one of the angles formed by the junction of the two rivers, its magazines, which are laid out in the form of galleries or porticos supported by iron pillars, and which occupy a quadrangular space of ground of about a thousand toises, are surrounded by canals. When I visited this place, it was nearly

finished: it had been four years in constructing, and had cost the Russian treasury more than 10,000,000 of roubles (paper money<sup>1</sup>), a great part of this sum, however, being absorbed in the subterraneous works they had been obliged to construct, on account of the light and sandy soil on which the building is erected. It is, however, executed with the solidity of the Spanish buildings, and is guaranteed by the director for the space of a hundred years without repairing. It brings a revenue to the government of about a million and a half of roubles per annum.

It cannot be doubted that both the fair and the town have gained much by the construction of this new building; the former on account of the great accommodation which it affords to merchants, who can with more facility and economy convey their goods by water; and the latter by the visible increase of population, and the wealth which it diffuses.

The house belonging to the engineers entrusted with the direction of these works, and which was the same where General Betancourt then resided, stands opposite to the magazines, and near the great bridge of boats

<sup>1</sup> At that time this money was 75 per. cent. discount.

on the Oka, which facilitates the communication between the town and the fair.

The most important commerce is carried on by the Russians<sup>1</sup> and the Boukharees, who bring manufactured goods in silk, cotton, cashmere shawls, (some of which sell as high as 6,000 roubles,) turquoises, and lapis lazuli, saltpetre, dried fruits, and various other things, and export, in return, sugar, coffee, cloths, arms, and articles in leather and iron, the greatest part of which come from the celebrated manufactories of Toula. The Boukharees travel in caravans, and perform part of their way by the Wolga, their voyage being rendered at present more expeditious by the steam-boats that navigate it. The greatest number of Russian merchants come from Moscow, among whom figure also some French *marchands des nouveautés*, who, though they only sell by retail, obtain great profits. The Armenians are not very numerous, their commerce being principally carried on in Georgia. I have likewise seen Turks and Greeks, whose princi-

<sup>1</sup> According to the general opinion, the Russian merchant is as little to be trusted as the Polish Jews, who are so renowned for cheating. A Boukharee, however, assured us that his countrymen made more advantageous bargains with the former than with any of the other merchants; a circumstance the more singular, as the Boukharees are a people of great probity.

pal traffic is in otto of roses, for which they never receive any merchandise in return.

In Russia the consumption of tea is very considerable, and, consequently, an article much in demand at this fair. One merchant alone, who had just arrived with his caravan from the frontiers of China, had this year on sale teas to the value of 3,000,000 of roubles.<sup>1</sup> This man, who came always accompanied by his young wife, a lady possessing many personal attractions, yearly performed a journey to China at the head of his caravans. One day we met this lady at a shop buying four shawls, for which she paid 12,000 roubles. We were surprised at seeing that a woman, who scarcely frequented society for twenty days in the year, (most of her time being spent in travelling) should waste so much money in mere articles of luxury; but she explained the riddle to us, when she noticed our surprise, by saying in a very graceful manner, that "as her husband liked to see her dressed in the European fashion, she bought those articles to wear them in their journey through the deserts, her only happiness consisting in pleasing him."

<sup>1</sup> Tea is dearer at Nijnei than in England or North America; but the flavour is much finer than that which crosses the seas.

The Boukharee Tartars are generally of a noble appearance, dress well, and are naturally peaceful and industrious. They are subject to an independent Khan, who resides at Boukharia, a city not far from Samarcand, the district of which they must cross to reach the frontiers of Russia, though not without danger. This they sometimes elude by partial treaties with the armed hordes of Kirguisses, who protect them against their idle and rapacious neighbours. The Boukharees to their habits of industry join a great desire for information, and I have seen several of them perusing a memoir of Napoleon, printed at Paris in Arabic, of which he caused many copies to be sent to Tartary, and which is very popular among them.

General Betancourt had, in the gallery of the house in which he resided, a camera obscura, which was sufficiently large to admit several persons, and where we took one of the Boukharees (who appeared the most sociable among them) to see the impression which the sight of so many living objects continually passing the bridge would make on his mind. To judge by the extreme surprise he at first evinced, he believed the whole to be supernatural; but his inquietude became excessive, when he distinguished, among the moving groups, one of his

countrymen and friends. Unable to understand each other, we lost the doubtless original questions which he endeavoured to make us comprehend by violent and incessant gesticulations.

The number of merchants assembled this year at the fair was from 130,000 to 140,000; a multitude which naturally presented a great variety of costumes and countenances. Here was seen the Russian merchant, wrapped up in his blue caftan, beside his wife, arrayed in the national dress, and her hair adorned with a profusion of strings of pearls; there the Persians and the Armenians, with their high caps of curly goat skin, and double hanging sleeves. Farther on, the Tartar of Boukharia, and that of Kasan, and of Mongolia; whilst the Turk paced up and down with his usual indolence and slow gait, as if afraid the ground would give way beneath his steps. The European merchant, whose dress appeared no less singular in the eyes of the former, than theirs did in ours, occupied a prominent station; and amidst this mercantile Babylon, was an English traveller, as inquisitive as he appeared dissatisfied. He always went about accompanied by an Italian, called Filistri, who, having nothing better to do, served him as guide, both having rendered themselves remarkable to the merchants by a string of ques-

tions, and their economy in making purchases. The Tartars and other Asiatics, who believed them to be both English, and who had no other ideas of Englishmen than those which they had gathered from the memoirs of Napoleon, and from the confused and unfavourable accounts of the events passing in India, avoided them as if they were infected with the plague.

In the evening the fair is transformed into a great Tivoli, where a theatre, rope-dancers, Russian swings, jugglers, learned quadrupeds, sea-monsters, and many other amusing objects are seen, and engage the attention of the delighted multitude. At the same time, the higher class of society have their brilliant assemblies, at which the most distinguished families of the country attend. General Betancourt, to whom I had given a description of the fête given by the nobility of Murcia, reminded me of it one night when we attended one of these elegant and splendid entertainments. Indeed, the same refinement and good taste, displayed in the higher circles of St. Petersburg, are found in those of the most remote towns of the interior. In Russia, this class of people unite all the dignity of the English nobility with the gaiety and agreeable manners of the French, before they became politicians. The ladies, who every

where in Europe are the very soul of society, are no way inferior in personal attractions, affability, vivacity, and wit, to those of any other European country.

By a very curious coincidence, the only three Spanish officers<sup>1</sup> in the service of Russia, whom General Betancourt employed in superintending the construction of the building for the fair, were all of them old friends of mine. This agreeable meeting was a source of deep interest and pleasure to us all. One of them, participating in the strong attachment which Spaniards have for their native country, had with him an old female servant, a native of Andalusia, who once served us a breakfast almost entirely in the Spanish fashion, a circumstance as singular in this remote country, as would be, on the frontiers of China, the European toilet of the amiable wife of the tea-merchant.

The fair ends at present on the 10th or 15th of August, three weeks after St. Makarieff's day, when a great number of boats are immediately loaded, and re-descend the Wolga with the Boukharees and other Tartars, Armenians, &c. who as they approach Astracan, which is 150 leagues from Nijnei Novgorod, soon disperse in different directions.

<sup>1</sup> Their names are Bausa, Biado, and Espejo.



Before dismissing the subject of the fair, I ought to mention here the only thing I remarked repugnant to my feelings; namely, the public theatre, in which there is a company of comedians wholly composed of *serfs*, belonging to a certain personage who makes a traffic of their exertions, and whom he often stimulates by harsh treatment. To hear an unhappy slave acting *only on the boards* the part of a hero or a freeman, creates a melancholy reflection, and one cannot help fancying that the proprietor himself is behind the scenes with the knout raised, acting the part of a prompter.

## CHAP. VII.

The author proceeds for Georgia—Seransk—Its fair—Penza—Beggars—Wolves—City of Woronejo—War between the Tzar Demetri and the Khan Mamay—The steppes—Town of Kasankaia—The River Don—The Kalmucks—Their tents—Tcherkaske, capital of the Don Cossacks—Their customs and superstition—Fish—Wine of the banks of the Don—Seredniy Yeguerlik—The Tcherkases or Circassians—Their costume, physiognomy, &c.—Attack of a courier—Arrival at Staropol—First view of the great Caucasian range—Gheorguiewsh, capital of the government of the Caucasus—Mozdok—River Terak, separating Europe and Asia—Father Henri, a Jesuit from Namur settled at Mozdok—General Yermolow attacks the Tchetchenkis.

THE time fixed for my departure from Nijnei Novgorod having arrived, I bid farewell to my kind protector and to the rest of my Spanish friends, and took the shortest road to Georgia on the 15th of August, preferring to continue my journey alone to the company of some Armenian merchants, who had offered to travel with me to the place of my destination, whether they were going, but whose coarse manners

were by no means inviting. In the hope of rendering my journey less tedious and fatiguing, I provided myself with a matráss for my kibitka, with some books, a gun, materials for drawing, a quantity of provisions, cigars, and, above all, a good stock of patience.

On the day after leaving Nijnei, I passed at day-break through Arsamas, after travelling over a road rendered almost impassable by the incessant rains which had fallen within the last few days, and which were ushering in the long winter season of Russia; the thermometer two days before my departure from Nijnei being at certain hours of the day  $2^{\circ}$  below zero.

At Seransk, where I stopped a short time for the purpose of procuring some other articles, which the fears I entertained respecting the poor accommodations on the road seemed to render necessary, I found another fair, though very inferior to that of Nijnei Novgorod, where a great number of horses for draught, most of them very fine, were exposed for sale. The water-melons of Seransk are excellent, in great abundance, and very cheap; as are also all kinds of provisions, of which I bought sufficient for four or five days, in poultry and fruits, and paid only two roubles in paper.

Notwithstanding the communication between

the two fairs, I found the road rather unfrequented, meeting only here and there a post of Russian peasants, to whom the security of the road was entrusted; although it is very rarely that a traveller is attacked by robbers in Russia.

Having left Seransk, I travelled on without any interruption till I reached a small hamlet, called Yermolow, in which I met with an unpleasant adventure at the post-house, where, from the chief down to the lowest servant, all were intoxicated, and where, amidst the noise and riot occasioned by this drunken group, neither the efforts or prayers of my postilion, or mine, were heard or regarded. At length, after the greatest trouble, we succeeded in inducing one of the postilions to take his seat on the kibitka, and proceed. But after driving a few wersts, he placed the reins in the hands of my little negro, and alighting, abandoned the carriage, equally unmindful of my offers or threats. Reeling and tumbling, he repeated the word *priama* (straight-forward), now pointing one way, and now another; and, as unfortunately this happened at a point where several roads met, and where not a soul was to be seen, it considerably increased my uncertainty as to which of them to follow. Having, however, prevailed on him to show us the road

to Penza, we proceeded on our way ; but as I had been unable to induce him to give up his whip to my negro, we were obliged to resort to pebbles, as is often done by the Spanish muleteers, in order to urge forward the horses, and after considerable trouble we reached the next post-house in Sloboda. Herè the master of the relay evinced some surprise at seeing me arrive without a postilion ; but when I explained to him the cause of it, he readily believed it, as the same had happened to other travellers.

The country in the vicinity of this place is very fertile, and is irrigated by the waters of the river Soura, which empties itself into the Wolga. It was midnight when we entered Penza, the capital of the government of the same name, and 80 leagues from Nijnei Novgorod. The master of the post-house had already retired to bed ; but he immediately arose on our arrival, and I judged, by the comforts which his house afforded, that we were in a city very superior to the places through which we had just passed. After taking a cup of tea, to which I had greatly accustomed myself since my arrival in Russia, I proceeded on my journey.

In proportion as we removed from Nijnei Novgorod, I perceived a material difference in the temperature. We left Penza with a clear moon-

light night, the silence of which was interrupted only by the merry songs and crackings of the whips of our Russian postilions, who are as noisy and full of mirth as the most buoyant *zagales* (post-boys) of Andalusia. From Penza to Woroneje, that is to say, in a distance of more than 500 wersts, the only two tolerable places met with are Tambow, capital of the government of Tchembar, and Kirzanow. Korlow and a few others, which are beyond these, are so inconsiderable, that they have not even obtained a place in the charts of the country.

On the 19th I passed through Arguelek, where for the first time I met with Tartar postilions, as well as with a great number of beggars, a sight at which I was greatly surprised, as since my arrival in Russia I had not seen any. The appearance of these poor wretches by day, and that of the numerous wolves that at night roamed about the road, rendered our travelling here by no means pleasant. On the morning of the 22nd we arrived at Woroneje, where I was obliged to remain a few hours in order to repair my kibitka. This city, which, like most of the towns in Russia, is built in a modern style, is rather handsome and populous; but once out of it, one meets only deserts for a considerable number of leagues, the post-houses themselves

being miserable hovels, without chimnies, or any kind of accommodation.

The fields of Woroneje, near the Don, are celebrated in the history of Russia as having been at different epochs the theatre of great events. Towards the close of the 14th century, during the reign of the Tzar Dmitry, the great Khan Mamay invaded Russia at the head of 700,000 men, to extort from that war-like prince the shameful tribute which had hitherto been paid to the Tartars, but which he would no longer grant. Having, therefore, resolved to meet his enemy, he called all the neighbouring princes around him, and asked from a monastery of Trinitarians two celebrated monks, that they might act as leaders to his army. Dmitry then passed the Don at the head of 400,000 men, and met all the troops of the great Khan assembled near Woroneje. On the two armies coming in presence of each other, the Tzar caused all the bridges to be destroyed, to oblige his soldiers to conquer or die; whilst a Tartar, advancing from the ranks, challenged any Russian to fight in single combat. Perewer, one of the two monks, accepted the challenge, and, without exchanging more than one blow, both combatants bit the dust, when immediately the battle commenced, and soon became

general on every point. The great Prince Dmitry, though wounded and surrounded by enemies, succeeded in extricating himself, and obtained a complete victory over the invaders. This triumph, however, cost him dearly; for after a campaign of only a few weeks, the Russians lost nine-tenths of their army. This immense loss may be accounted for by the exterminating manner of making war in those times, and by the excesses into which the soldiers plunged after gaining a victory.

I left Woroneje early in the afternoon. The weather was extremely fine; but the appearance of the *steppes*, or deserts, which begin at Woroneje, and extend to the foot of the Caucasus, is barren and desolate beyond expression. I believe, however, that far from not being susceptible of cultivation, they might, with time and labour, become the most abundant granaries of Russia. Indeed, if they are not so now, it must be attributed to a bad administration, and to the very scanty population of these districts.

Pawlowsk and Bobrow are the only villages that are met with from Woroneje to Kasankaïa, an extent of forty-five leagues. The two former places are considered as the capitals of districts which exist at present only in imagination. The



service of posts in this high road from Moscow to the Don is very superior to that leading to Nijnei Novgorod, Penza, and the rest, over which I had just been travelling.

Kasankaïa forms the boundaries of the government of Woroneje, and that of the Cossacks of the Don, the winding course of which greatly inclining towards the east, doubtless prompted Peter the Great to undertake the colossal work of opening a communication between the Black and the Caspian seas by means of a canal of about seventy or eighty wersts in length, but which must be cut through a chain of mountains, a work which, when Constantinople becomes the third capital of the Russian empire, will not remain long unaccomplished.

The majestic river Don is crossed at Kasankaïa by a ferry, and the posts are then under the direction of Cossacks. On leaving this river behind, the monotony of the steppes was such, that a bird, a tree, or a hovel were as welcome to me as signs of land might be to a sailor after a long voyage. In crossing those deserts during the night of the 23rd and on the following day, I met with several troops of wandering horses, and with some hordes of Kalucks, transporting from one place to another

their *kivitki*, or tents, made of skins, where they all huddle together round a small fire, sheltered from the cold, the wind, and the rain. There I have seen the children contending for a bone with the dogs, by whom they are continually attacked. The wealth of a Kalmuck consists of a *kivitka*, more or less habitable, a few horses, some camels, and buffaloes. These idle wanderers are continually changing their residence, which lasts only so long as they find pasture for their cattle around the place of their encampment. To their love of idleness they join a passion for strong liquors, and a propensity to thieving, in which they indulge whenever they can do it without risk.

I arrived on the morning of the 25th at the post-house near the modern Tcherkaske, the capital of the country of the Cossacks of the Don, and about thirty wersts from the old one, which bears the same name. Nothing is more irksome to an impatient traveller, who moreover is not overstocked with provisions, than to see the miserable postilions in vain exerting every nerve to urge forward their lean and exhausted horses. From Tcherkaske the road borders the heights on which the city stands as far as Bataïskaïa, a town inhabited by Cossacks, and the whole of which is neatly built of

wood in a modern style. The river Don is again crossed here by a floating bridge. The mercantile riches of this town consist chiefly in timber, which comes down this river from Orel, a distance of about two hundred miles, and which is forwarded to the sea of Azoff. As I passed through the town, I alighted to see the market-place, and by the ornaments worn by some of the Cossack women, I perceived that their husbands or relations had been of the number of those who had exercised their trade of rapine from the banks of the Niemen to those of the Seine.

The interior of the houses belonging to the Cossacks, to judge from those which I saw near the capital, is a model of cleanliness and economy. In this respect they surpass all I have seen in Russia. The small number of Cossacks, who succeed in exempting themselves from the military service, are devoted to commerce, in which their industry generally insures success. It is, doubtless, owing to this, that the greatest part of the Cossack population is found on the borders of the Don and of the Koubann, the sterility of the steppes being an impediment against their forming any settlements there.

The Cossacks are hospitable at home; but they carry their religious scruples towards those who differ from them in creed, so far as to break

the glass or plate used by their guests. These scruples, however, do not prevent them, when they are in foreign countries, from making as large a booty as they possibly can; and indeed these spoils have at all times formed the principal wealth of the Cossacks of the Don.

The post-houses in this country, especially those which are met with out of the towns, are generally wretched huts, having two divisions; one for the traveller who would be foolish enough to sojourn there; and the other for the postillions, the master of the post-house, and the man, called *econome*, who all live pell-mell. The duty of the master is to examine and register the traveller's *feuille de poste*, and to take care that he be expeditiously served; and that of the latter to keep up the fire, for which a kind of straw cake, and brushwood alone is used, (as scarcely any wood is found in these deserts,) and to furnish the traveller with whatever provisions are in the house, which are, indeed, so scanty, that, were he to come unprovided, I suspect not all the exertions of Monsieur l'Econome would prevent him from starving. The man who fills this office is always a disabled veteran, who is thus employed till he completes the twenty-five years of service, which the Russian government assigns to the Cossacks. I have

no doubt that, had I understood their language, I should have heard from them an account of their would-be military exploits, of which these men are very fond of boasting.

The modern Tcherkaske, which is now the residence of the governor, or hetman of the Cossacks, is a city extremely well situated. I have seen few spots in Russia more picturesque than the mountain on which it stands. It overlooks a vast plain, separated from the steppes, and watered by the wide Don and several other tributary streams, whilst the towns Stary-Tcherkaske, Bataïskaïa, Rostow, and several others, form various groupés on the same horizon with Tcherkaske, and complete the harmony of the picture.

The Don abounds in excellent fish, and its banks produce the wine properly called of the Don, which is drunk by the people of the country as a delicious nectar, but which Europeans will not find equally good, unless it be very old, when it resembles champagne. This flavour is particularly noticed in the wines of some French vintners, who have established themselves in this country, where their industry does not remain unrewarded.

At the time of my crossing the Don, we were nearly swept into the river by impetuous gusts

of wind, accompanied by violent showers of rain and a fall of snow, which gave a most frightful aspect to the steppes, into which I very soon after entered. The farther I removed from the capital, horses, roads, post-hovels, every thing became gradually worse; and such is the zig-zag which the road takes, to avoid the great number of marshes in the neighbourhood of that city, that though I had travelled several leagues, whenever I looked back, and the atmosphere cleared a little, I still saw the heights of Tcherkaske as if I had not advanced a werst. It may easily be conceived what a pleasant night I must have had in crossing those deserts with such bad horses and such dismal weather. Leaving it entirely to the care of my negro to see the *feuille de poste* signed and registered at the various relays we met in our way, I scarcely quitted the carriage till the evening of the 26th, when we arrived at Seredniy Yeguerlik, where those coming from Persia towards the Don are obliged to perform quarantine. This place forms the boundary of the government of Tcherkaske, and that of the Caucasus.

Whilst I was waiting for a change of horses, a man, having a more martial air, a different costume, and mounted on a finer horse than those I had hitherto seen, approached me, and

said, in a language which I had much difficulty in understanding, that he was charged with offering me an escort, a proffer which I declined accepting, as I did not contemplate I was incurring any danger by travelling without it. The above place was the last post-house served by Cossacks, the Tcherkesses or Circassians, to whom the chief who had just spoken to me belonged, being now the people entrusted with this care.

The costume of the Circassians, which has been generally adopted by all the inhabitants of this part of the Caucasus, is extremely simple and martial. It consists of a short cloth tunic of some light colour, fitting to the body, with long and wide sleeves. On each side of the breast are placed symmetrically several small tubes, to contain ammunition, more or less ornamented. On the head they wear a very light fur cap, and a long hood to protect them from the rain. Their wide trowsers resemble those of the Mamelukes; and their arms consist of a dirk and a pistol at the belt, a *damasquiné* sabre hanging at the side, and a long but light gun with a shoulder-belt. Their horses, though lean, are strong, light, and tractable, and their accoutrements are extremely well adapted for war. Like the Arabs, they use their stirrups as spurs, and carry a small

whip fastened to their wrists, which does not at all seem to inconvenience them, and which they seldom lay aside even in their houses. They smoke a great deal with a small pipe, like the rest of the people of the Caucasus. Their countenances are not unlike those of the North American Indians, and their complexion is rather darker than that of the Cossacks.

The roads, after passing Yeguerlik, are not much better than those we had just left, although the service of the posts was rather improved. On the following day I had reason to regret having refused the escort. The fog did not permit me to distinguish any objects; but soon after day-break I heard musket-shots not far distant, and immediately after saw a Tcherkesse coming towards us at full gallop. I had alighted from the carriage, and loaded my gun to defend myself in case of an attack, intending to make a kind of parapet of the vehicle, when he approached me, and gave me to understand that he had been fighting with an armed party, who had attacked the courier. We retrograded towards a post, stationed at a short distance in our rear, and soon after I saw the courier, who was on his way to St. Petersburg, arrive in a state which proved the danger he had just overcome. He told me that I should act very impru-



dently were I to travel without an escort, to which I was entitled, the authorities being obliged to take every precaution for the safety of the officers, couriers, and other travellers. I was, therefore, compelled to remain there till I procured an escort, which was relieved at every relay, and with which I arrived on the evening of the same day at Staropol. From this place is seen a great part of the chain of the Caucasus, as well as the Elborus, which, apparently isolated, rises majestically before the others. The imposing sight which such an elevated and extensive chain of mountains, whose pinnacles are eternally covered with snow, presents, is the more impressive, as from St. Petersburg to Staropol, a distance of four hundred leagues, there is scarcely any thing but plains. The Caucasus, moreover, reminds one of what history and mythology have transmitted to us respecting this cradle of the human race.

Staropol is a city finely situated, and built upon a good model. It is tolerably well peopled; but the total neglect of agriculture renders almost fruitless the cares bestowed by the Russian government to make these new establishments prosper.

Gheorguiewsh, which is the capital of the government of the Caucasus, is 170 wersts from

the Don. In my way thither, I met some of the infantry regiments, recently destined for the army of Georgia, which had belonged to the corps under the orders of Count Worontzoff, who had just left France. On my arrival at that city, I was quartered at the house of a man who was a great sportsman, and who invited me to partake of his frugal repast. Here for the first time I partook of the excellent pheasants of the country, the flavour of which is superior to any I ever tasted. In this place I reposed myself for the first time since my departure from Nijnei Novgorod.

On the evening of the following day I arrived at Mozdok. The road from Woroneje to this place is bordered on each side by rows of trees, as are all the roads of the empire, whether good or bad, except on the steppes; and I remarked that all the trees were of an equal height, a circumstance which proves how well the energetic orders of Alexander are observed throughout the empire.

Mozdok is situated on a plain on the left bank of the river Terak, which winds through those vallies. It has its source in the bosom of the Caucasus, and empties itself into the Caspian sea, forming on that side the boundary between Europe and Asia. The small number of noble

families in this country, of whom some are natives of Georgia, are sunk into such a horrible state of misery, that they are confounded with the populace, owing to their inhabiting a country almost entirely peopled with freebooters.

As throughout the Russian empire all religions are tolerated, the Jesuits, who are themselves the most intolerant, and who know how to profit of this freedom in every corner of the world, have some years since formed an establishment at Mozdok, where they had always apartments prepared for any catholic traveller who might pass through Mozdok. Having presented myself to the military commandant of this city, and learned from him that General Yermolow was then in the country of the Tchetchenkis, a province not very distant from Mozdok, on the northern side of the Caucasus, and that, to proceed thither, I should be obliged to leave my kibitka and various other things here, I begged him to inform me where I might deposit them until my return, when he referred me to the house belonging to the mission of the Jesuits, in which he said most of the officers travelling through were in the habit of lodging, as it afforded conveniences which were not to be found in any of the houses of the natives. I was not much inclined to avail

myself of this information; but when I visited the house where I was to be quartered, the intolerable bad smell, filth, vermin, and misery by which the family was surrounded, and above all my want of confidence in the host, induced me to apply at the house of the Jesuits.

Here I was received very civilly by one of the two Jesuits of which the mission was composed, his companion being then absent on his professional duties, that is, confessing the catholics who were serving in the army. My present host, who was a native of Namur, advanced in age, but very active, immediately showed me an apartment, which was clean and neatly furnished. I informed him of my intention to set off on the following day, but that I should be obliged by his keeping my apartment unoccupied until my return. He enquired of what religion I was, and discovered me to be a Spaniard by my pronunciation. In the evening he paid me a long visit, in which I learned that his name was Henri, that he had emigrated from France at the time of the French Revolution, had since visited many distant countries, and even China, and had at length settled at the foot of the Caucasus. Though he appeared to me a man free from prejudice, I did not think proper to relate my adventures to him.

The comforts and good attendance I met with at this place afforded a striking contrast with the want of cleanliness observable in all the houses of the town. I was instantly supplied with every thing I wanted, and I remember that, having mentioned to the Jesuit that my servant had lost his cap during his journey, he very soon afterwards brought me one for him, which was made by a lady belonging to the nobility of the town, who was under his spiritual guidance, and who, notwithstanding her pedigree, earned her livelihood by her needle; in which, however, to judge from the specimen I now saw, she did not appear to be a great proficient.

The humble costume of this clergyman, the extreme simplicity of his own abode compared with the comforts of my apartment, his varied and instructive conversation, every thing prejudiced me in his favour; but I perceived that, notwithstanding his unassuming manners, he was better instructed in the military operations of General Yermolow than even the commandant-at-arms himself. From him I learned that the general-in-chief had some months since quitted his usual residence at Teflis, and was directing in person the operations against the Tchetchenkis, whose hostile spirit was highly injurious to the whole line of the Terak, especi-

ally to the profitable establishment of Kislár, of which I shall hereafter speak.

According to the tenor of the Jesuit's conversation, who, notwithstanding my reserve, endeavoured under various pretexts to discover the object of my journey, I should be considered in the light of an intriguing spy by Yermolow, whom he reported as an enemy to all the foreigners who served in the Russian army, and from whom I was to expect the most uncourteous reception, and a treatment which would expose me to the most imminent dangers, that he might at once rid himself of me. Father Henri spoke long on this subject, and I own that his account made a great impression on me. I feared to see those hopes frustrated with which I had been inspired at St. Petersburg respecting my chief, for whom I had hitherto felt a secret veneration, and in whom I had hoped to find my best protector. Fortunately, the Jesuit was himself the first to calm the fears he had occasioned. Notwithstanding all the impartiality, and even humility which he had at first manifested, as he proceeded he became unguarded in his expressions, and said, among other things, that the only consolation of all the foreigners in that country was the spiritual friendship of this mission.

In all other respects I found Father Henri a

most benevolent, enlightened, and estimable man, possessing all the ardour and zeal of an apostle, and all the affability, knowledge, and tolerance of one who had seen, read, and reflected much; nor ought I to omit here that the information and advice he gave me respecting the country and inhabitants I was to visit, were of the utmost service to me in more than one instance.

Forty-eight hours after my arrival, I called again upon the commandant-at-arms, that he might give orders about the escort I was to take; and having deposited my kibitka in the place appropriated for them, I entrusted to the missionary the remainder of my superfluous articles, and prepared to take my departure for the headquarters of General Yermolow.

## CHAP. VIII.

Arrival at Naur—Cossack settlements on the River Terak—Account of the Cossacks of the Terak—Their fidelity—Tcherlanaïa—Schalkowskoïc—Kalmucks—Andreïewsky, capital of the province of the Tchetchenkis—Redoubt at Aksai—The author arrives at the head-quarters of General Yermolow—The general's tent or kivitka—His address to the officers lately arrived—His reception of the author—Defeat of the mountaineers and their prince—Capture of Andreïewsky—Beautiful girl of Andreïewsky—Description of costume—Character of Yermolow—His indefatigable attention to the duties of his office.

I LEFT Mozdok on horseback at three in the afternoon of the 31st of August, followed by my negro and three Cossacks of the Don, who escorted me. The chain of the Caucasus was on our right, about 55 or 60 wersts distant, and parallel with our road, which lay along the left bank of the Terak, leading through fertile though little populated plains to Naur, 55 wersts from Mozdok, where we arrived towards the close of day.

The line of the Terak, formerly deserted and



dangerous, is at present inhabited by the colonies of Cossacks who settled here a few years back, and who are distinguished from the rest, not only because they bear the name of the river on the banks of which they live, but because they differ in costume and manners, their activity in war also surpassing that of all others. These colonies, which commence at Naur, and extend along the river, are continually exposed to the attacks of the neighbouring mountaineers, who at various points easily ford the Terak, especially in autumn. There is a military chief in every village, who acts likewise in civil matters. To him the travellers apply for escort, relays, lodging, or any thing else they may stand in need of. The colonists are obliged to furnish the officers and the couriers with these things upon rather more moderate terms than those exacted from the merchants and other individuals, who pass through these colonies.

The costume of the Cossacks of the Terak, the accoutrements of their horses, and their arms, differ little from the Circassians, or Tcherkesses. They never make use of the lance, as those of the Don. In their houses, which are always very clean, are seen the arms, saddle, bridle, &c., symmetrically placed, and in excellent condition.

They profess the Greek religion, and in every room have an image, to which they reverentially bow every time they go in and out, as well as whenever they commence or conclude any household affair, however trifling. This custom is also common among the Russians. The families of these Cossacks are very hospitable; they receive travellers with great affability, and readily furnish them with every thing they want on terms the most moderate; but they are as fanatical as those of the Don, never again using the utensils which have served a person of a different religion. The escort of these Cossacks may always be confidently trusted to, as, in case of attack, they would all perish rather than abandon the individual they accompany.

Naur is pleasantly situated and regularly built, as are indeed all the villages of these colonies, which are also surrounded by walls, to guard them from a surprise. The commandant of these places seldom grants an escort during the night: I passed it at the house of one of these colonists, the father of a numerous family, who on my arrival were just returning from their agricultural labours. My negro greatly attracted the attention of the colonists, who could scarcely believe that his colour and woolly hair were natural. This occasioned many amus-

ing scenes between the children of my host and him. In the bed-room assigned to me, I found an excellent bed.

At six o'clock on the morning of the following day, I set off on horseback, escorted by two Cossacks of the Terak. The road was scarcely distinguishable on account of the thick fog. It was my wish to reach on that day Schalkowskoïe, a distance of 90 wersts, where the Terak is crossed before entering the country of the Tchetchenkis. At noon, I arrived at a little village called Tcherlanaïa, half-way of my day's journey. As I could not be furnished here with horses, I procured, after much trouble, a sort of narrow cart, to which Don Quixote's cage would have been a palace. It was drawn but by one bad horse, and the wheels being not quite round, the motion was insupportable. At a distance of a few wersts from this place we quitted the road to Kislär, and followed that along the Terak, which leads through thick forests. Had it not been for some Russian troops, who in the course of the morning had passed along that road, and scared away the numerous banditti that infest it, I could not have ventured through those forests with my small escort. At length, having found post-horses in one of the relays, and traversed another forest, we arrived in the after-

noon at Schalkowskoïe, where we met two infantry regiments, who, like those I had seen at Gheorguiewsk, were coming from France, and were on their way to head-quarters.

In this place, which is not very considerable, I entered the first house where I thought I saw hospitable faces, and where I established myself for the night at the invitation of the family, who very good-naturedly presented me with some fruits of the season, the best I ever tasted in any part of Russia, especially the water-melon, which is here very delicious. Having learned from the officers of the regiments above-mentioned that their departure would soon take place, I resolved to proceed in their company.

On the other side of the river, and opposite to Schalkowskoïe there is a redoubt, considerable enough to resist the attacks to which it was likely to be subject. It protected that part of the Terak which is crossed by means of rafts, made of wood and osiers; the singularity of which was greatly heightened by the sight of three hundred carts loaded with provisions, and an equal number of buffaloes conducted by Kalmucks, crossing over with the greatest facility. These men, who are about as handsome as their buffaloes, although belonging

to the same race as those I had met in the steppes near the Don, are not in the habit of wandering like the former, but are established with their families in the interior of the country, near the Terak. They are, moreover, the most obedient, sober, and vigorous of the different tribes found about the Caucasus. They are generally called upon to furnish the army with carts, whenever stores and provision are to be transported to various points of the Caucasus. The crossing of the Terak occupied two days, and it would have lasted two weeks, had not the military, entrusted with the care of the convoy, displayed the utmost activity.

The province of the Tchetchenkis commences, at this point, immediately on crossing the Terak. It is inhabited by a fierce and unmanageable people, the greatest part of whom are freebooters, and of whom more hereafter. Their capital is called Andreïew, or Andreïewsky, where, we learned, the Russian troops had established their head-quarters, after having completely routed the mountaineers. As we were obliged to proceed at the same pace with the buffaloes, our march was naturally slow; but the picturesque views which the country offered at every step compensated in some measure for the tediousness of our journey. Towards

the close of day we arrived with this singular caravan at a redoubt (not far from a small village called Aksai), which was but a little time back the most advanced fortified post in this province. The commandant of the redoubt invited several of us to take our punch with him, and received us in a subterraneous place, where he said he had lived several years without his health ever having suffered from it. All those under his orders inhabited similar places, so that no other dwellings were seen above, but the tents belonging to the battalions we marched with.

· On the 5th at day-break, we commenced our march through a country, to the beauty and variety of which no pen could ever do justice ; and on the following day, towards evening, we approached Andreïewsky. Before reaching the city, the troops halted and suddenly formed, when I found that the general-in-chief Yermolow had, unaccompanied by any one, advanced on foot to meet this column. As all the troops of head-quarters, the officers on the staff, and the general-in-chief himself, were bivouacking before Andreïewsky, the battalions which had just arrived also pitched their tents there. I waited till the following day to present myself to the man whom I was most anxious to

know ; and meantime profiting by the kind invitation of the major of one of the regiments with whom I came, I spent the night in his tent.

The cannon announced the dawn, and I then beheld from the camp, which stood on an elevated spot, one of the most splendid sights I had ever seen, formed on one side by Andreïewsky, and on the others by fertile vallies and picturesque mountains. The body of officers with whom I had performed the last stages of my journey, and myself went to present ourselves to the general at six o'clock, the hour appointed on the proceeding night for our visiting him. The tent of the general was what is called in the country a *kiyitka*. It is in the form of a dome : the lower part is composed of a sort of trellis-work in wood, very light but solid, about five feet high ; the top is made of rather thick osiers ; and the whole is covered with a thick impenetrable cloth, manufactured in the country. It had a door on one side, and a sliding window on the other. Its diameter was between twenty five and thirty feet.

On our drawing near, an aide-de-camp of Yermolow came out to meet us, and conducted us to the general's *kivitka*, which was furnished with a camp-bed, a table, and two chairs.

Yermolow embraced the chiefs and officers with whom he was acquainted, and who had made with him the last campaign against Napoleon, and afterwards addressed himself to the whole circle, in the middle of which he stood in that martial attitude by which he is so much distinguished, entering at some length into the subject of the present war, and making humorous comparisons between the French campaign and that of the Caucasus, as well as on the diversity of objects offered by each. During his discourse, I observed the countenances of those by whom he was surrounded (among whom were officers of great merit), and it gave me pleasure to see that they were expressive of sincere attachment and respect; sentiments which, among the military class, are entertained only for those who, in the midst of bivouacs, lavish the noblest sacrifices to their country.

Yermolow appeared to be about forty years of age. He is a very tall man, but well proportioned; has a vigorous constitution, and an animated countenance, the expression of which at once stamps him as a man of superior mind. When he received us, he wore a military frock-coat with a red standing collar, epaulettes, and the riband of the order of St. George at the button-hole. On his bed lay a sabre, and a



foraging cap, which completed his usual campaign dress. When the officers retired, he motioned me to remain. I had observed him sufficiently to be convinced that I might dispense with delivering my letters of recommendation to him, unless he himself alluded to them. The general, after congratulating me on my safe arrival, and welcoming me to head-quarters, entered upon the subject of my regiment, which he represented as being in the best possible condition, though in a state of inactivity, owing to the kind of warfare in which his army was at present engaged, in a mountainous country, where no regular cavalry troops could be employed to advantage, the country itself furnishing such horsemen as they stood in need of. I expressed a wish to render myself more useful, and took my leave of him, having first received an invitation to dine with him on that day.

I then proceeded to the tent of the chief of the staff, General Williaminoff, with whom I remained but a short time, and to whom I delivered a letter from his friend, the sub-chief of the staff, Mr. Mentchikoff, after which I repaired to the tent of my comrade of bivouac, who, with several other officers, had also been invited to dine with Yermolow.

Three days before our arrival at Andreïewsky,

a victory had been obtained over the united forces of the country, commanded by one of their princes, who, abandoning in his defeat the camp and the capital, the wounded and the dispersed, had retreated with the remains of his army into the almost impenetrable fastnesses of the mountains. The capital, which is said to contain more than twenty thousand inhabitants, all Mahometans, had been entirely evacuated by the people at the approach of an enemy whom they had so greatly exasperated. A priest and a few old men, who had taken refuge in a mosque, were the only persons found in the city.

Yermolow issued orders for the troops to bivouac before the city, at the same time strictly forbidding any soldiers to enter it, and causing his conciliatory intentions to be made known to the frightened inhabitants, through the medium of the old men who had been found in the mosque. This invitation, joined to the numberless inconveniences they were exposed to in the mountains, produced the desired effect, and the wanderers very soon began to return to their homes.

On the morning after our arrival, orders were given to some battalions to occupy the city, and the head-quarters transferred their residence

from their *kivitki* to a *tower*<sup>\*</sup> contiguous to the mosque, and situated on the most elevated spot of the city, before which several field-pieces were placed, more with a view to intimidate than for any hostile purpose; for it was observed that, among the families who returned, there were scarcely any men, a circumstance which proved either mistrust or warlike intentions.

The dinner invitations of General Yermolow during a campaign are perfectly unceremonious; indeed, so much so, that the guests are often ignorant of the precise dinner-hour. In our way to the general's quarters, my comrade and myself, wishing to see something of the city, walked through several streets, in one of which we observed two women looking out of a balcony, and earnestly beckoning to us. We were the more surprised at their appearance, as we believed that the Mahometan women of the Caucasus, like those of Persia, were strictly confined to the interior of their houses, or that, at all events, they never went unveiled, a custom which we found was not general among the inhabitants of the Caucasus. We, however, entered the house, and saw in the court two Russian grenadiers,

\* In Asia the houses of noblemen are called *towers*.

who, by a mistake of their corporal, had taken their quarters here, and whose presence was the cause of the inquietude manifested by the two ladies, who, with an old man, were the only inhabitants of the house. Whilst the soldiers were explaining these things to us, they appeared at the top of the stairs, and again renewed their invitation by violent gesticulations. On a nearer approach, we guessed by their age that they were mother and daughter. The former, who still preserved much of the freshness and beauty of youth, wore very wide trowsers, a short tunic, and a veil, which fell in graceful folds on her back, while round her neck she had some valuable jewels, though badly mounted. With respect to the daughter, who was scarcely fifteen years of age, she was so extraordinarily beautiful, that both my companion and myself remained awhile motionless and struck with admiration. Never in my life have I seen a more perfect form. Her dress consisted of a short white tunic almost transparent, fastened only at the throat by a clasp. A veil, negligently thrown over one shoulder, permitted part of her beautiful ebony tresses to be seen. Her trowsers were of an extremely fine tissue, and her socks of the most delicate workmanship. The old man received us in a room adjoining the staircase: he

was seated on the carpet, smoking a small pipe, according to the custom of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, who cultivate tobacco. He made repeated signs to us to sit down, that is to say, in the Asiatic manner, a posture extremely inconvenient for those who like ourselves wore long and tight trowsers, whilst the two beautiful women on their side earnestly seconded his request. We complied with it, though it was the first time that either of us had made the essay. The ladies, having left the room for a moment, returned with a salver of dried fruits, and a beverage made of sugar and milk; but I was so much engaged in admiring their personal attractions, that I paid but little attention to their presents. It appeared to me an inconceivable caprice of nature to have produced such prodigies of perfection amidst such a rude and barbarous people, who value their women less than their stirrups. My companion, who like myself was obliged to accept of their refreshments, remarked to me, whilst the old man was conversing with them, what celebrity a woman so transcendently beautiful as the daughter was would acquire in any of the capitals of Europe, had she but received the benefits of a suitable education.

Having remained with them a short time,

during which they repeatedly expressed their alarm at the sight of the military, who were seen about the streets, we endeavoured to quiet their apprehensions, and recommending the soldiers to protect them from any insult, we left the house, to which I should often have returned, during my sojourn at Andreïewsky, had it not been that we were total strangers to each other's manners. We learned afterwards, that this family were not Mahometans, but belonged to those Jews who had settled many centuries back in the Caucasus.

As we proceeded through the streets, we met numerous families returning to their homes, among whom we saw many beautiful figures half veiled. As Andreïewsky is the only manufacturing town of the Tchetchenkis, and the wealthiest, the fear of having their houses plundered induced the inhabitants to return to the city; for, although the Russian soldiery are always objects of hatred to a Mussulman, as they have the reputation of never exercising the violences and outrages so common among these barbarous nations, the male population of the city, though as jealous of their women as the rest of the Asiatics, sent them first, deferring till the last moment their own return, which they believed would prove fatal to them; the assassinations,

robberies, and cruelties of every kind which they had hitherto committed with impunity, strongly exciting their apprehensions.

On reaching the general's quarters, we found that the dinner had been ready an hour; but as he was on this day engaged in preparing his despatches for the Emperor, in which he usually gave the most circumstantial accounts of the operations of his army, we still found time to spare. General Yermolow, usually called by his Christian name, Alexis Petrowitch,<sup>1</sup> is always his own secretary, confidant, and counsellor. According to the opinion of several distinguished persons of the capital, his confidential correspondence with the Emperor Alexander is of the highest interest, as it is replete with sublime sentiments, patriotic views, disinterested advice, and impartiality; this modern Belisarius having no other ambition than the true prosperity of his country, and the splendour of his sovereign's throne.

Whilst this indefatigable chief was thus engaged in his numerous duties, I walked with

<sup>1</sup> The Russians, whatever be their rank, call each other by their Christian names; thus, if even a drummer has occasion to mention the general in chief's name, he always says, Alexei Petrowitch, which in Russian means Alexis son of Peter.

several officers in the garden belonging to the tower, which, being on an elevated situation, commanded many fine prospects. In passing through the dining-room I observed at the head of the table a plate of soup which was quite cold, and I was informed that the general never ate any thing hot, his dinner being usually served long before he sat down. In the mosque which is contiguous to the tower, and in which an obstinate resistance was made by the enemy, I picked up some parchments from Mecca, to make a present to the Jesuit of Mozdok.

On our return to the dining-room, I saw many more guests than seats, a circumstance which I was told was very common, as Yermolow received without any formality or etiquette whoever wished to make one at his table. But the servants easily supplied the want of seats, by placing on each side of the table wooden benches, which had been made by the soldiers, such articles of furniture being never used by the Asiatics. We were all waiting for the general to take our seats, (as the military etiquette of the Russians requires that every one should take his seat according to his rank,) when he entered, and having saluted us all with usual good humour, and without making any distinction, took his seat at the side of the table, and



inviting some of the chiefs to sit near him, he requested the major and myself to sit at the head of the table.

Opposite to Yermolow was General Williami-noff; the rest of the guests sat down without any distinction. The general had finished his dinner before we had scarcely begun ours. He conversed familiarly with every one, and spoke to me of my journey from the capital, saying, that I was perhaps the first Spaniard who in our times had visited the Caucasus. In speaking of Spain he said, "It seems that in your country, people are sent to the Inquisition *tambour battant*; but how did you, major, succeed in slipping out with the same facility?" I replied, "*A pas de charge*, which alone could prove successful with the Inquisitors." He laughed, and treated the matter humorously, afterwards taking part in the conversation of General Williami-noff, who spoke of Llorente's work, on which Yermolow made many excellent observations. This was the first and last time that he ever spoke to me of Spain.

After dinner, we walked up and down before the tower, the general every moment inquiring of the persons whom he employed for the purpose, what number of families had returned from the mountains, in which he seemed to

take a great interest. I thought, from all that I had heard respecting the treacherous character of the inhabitants of Asia, that General Yermolow appeared too careless of his personal safety, by absenting himself from us, and venturing beyond the reach of a sentry, accompanied only by some of the country people, probably spies, who, like the rest of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, never part with their daggers even in their sleep. I made this remark to some of the officers, who replied, that the general trusted so much to the respect which he inspired even to his most inveterate enemies, that he never thought of danger; and he was moreover persuaded, that were he to act otherwise, he would lose much of the *prestige* he enjoyed among a people, who prize nothing so highly as personal courage.

Yermolow spends most of his afternoons in active occupations, and generally in the company of the young aid-de-camps, whom he takes a pleasure in forming; but to none of whom he ever shows the least partiality, which frequently excites jealousy, and spreads disunion among the officers of an army. His orders, whether written or verbal, are intrusted by him to the one who happens to be near his person.

I have learned from persons who have known

General Yermolow from his youth, that he always took the greatest pleasure in literary pursuits, and is deeply read in the classics. It is not surprising then if, with his studious habits, he should detest both drinking and gambling, the last of which, so difficult to repress among his countrymen, he never tolerates. Indeed, it is the only thing in which he is intolerant, particularly if he feels any esteem for the person addicted to this vice.

In the evening, when the friends who form his society withdraw, and his occupations permit it, he returns to his books and papers; and as he never uses a watch, he seldom quits his studies till the sentry stationed near his window, who is purposely placed there by his friends, reminds him of the lateness of the hour, by the noise he makes when he is relieved. He then throws himself on his couch, and before the cannon announces the dawn, he is already on foot and visiting the camp. Such is the invariable conduct of a man bearing the weight of a multitude of cares, fatigues, and responsibility, in the most extensive and complicated government of the Russian empire, especially at a time when its southern frontiers are in a state of insurrection. To treat the soldiers as if they were his own brothers; to spare their blood as

much as possible, and insure and consolidate their successes ; to make himself loved and respected by all those under his orders ; to be neither *rash* nor *timid*, as says the Latin motto of his coat of arms ;—such is Alexei Petrowitch to his friends and his enemies.

The baneful influence exerted by Russia in the affairs of my unhappy country, and the total impossibility of my again finding an asylum in that empire, must render unsuspected the sentiments which I here avow, and which are dictated only by a regard for truth and impartiality, and by the respect I feel for a man whose public and private virtues render him an object of general esteem and admiration, except only to a few envious courtiers, inimical to the true interests of their country.

## CHAP. IX.

Russian embassy to Persia—Housseïn Kouli-Khan, Sardar of Erivan—Politie conduct of Yermolow in Persia—His disregard of etiquette at the court of Persia—Reception of the Russian embassy by the Shah—Picture of this magnificent scene—The Kasbek and Elborus, mountains of the Caucasus—Description of the chain of mountains—Character of the mountain tribes—Their love of war and pillage—The Lesghis—Barbarous habits of the Tchetchenkis—Their poniards—The Assetinians—Hermits—Kabardines, activity of this tribe in warfare—Lesghi Tartars—Their country described—Frontier provinces of Russia—Benefits accruing to the population of the Caucasus by the extension of the Russian power.

THE extraordinary embassy sent by the Emperor Alexander, after the European campaigns of 1813 and 1814, to the Shah of Persia, for the purpose of consolidating the late treaties of peace between the two potentates, was the real or supposed motive of General Yermolow's removal from St. Petersburg. The interesting details of this mission are sufficiently known: they have been published by an officer who was

an eye-witness, and who, having been my tent-companion, was on intimate terms with me. From him therefore, and from several other officers who formed part of this embassy, I have learned every circumstance connected with it; so that I hope I shall not be taxed with presumption, if I here point out certain errors into which some foreign writers have fallen (whether intentionally or not is best known to themselves) respecting the personal conduct of the ambassador, and that of the favourite of the Shah Houssein Kouli-Khan, Sardar of Erivan.

It is said that Yermolow required of this prince, even with a degree of insolence, that he should render him the same honours as were due to the Shah himself, a request to which Kouli-Khan acceded. They add, that the Russian ambassador, disregarding the ancient usages, so rigorously adhered to by the ambassadors of other great nations who had preceded him, abruptly refused to subscribe to them, though, it is asserted, that the etiquette at the court of Persia in appearing before the Shah, of taking off the boots or shoes instead of the hat, assuming a different costume, more or less ridiculous in the eyes of a European, sitting on the ground, &c., is held by the Persians as sacred. And it is further affirmed, that the conduct of

the ambassador was not only contrary to the pacific intentions of Alexander, but goading to the Persian court, and greatly calculated to prevent a sincere reconciliation.

Housseïn Kouli-Khan is the hero of Persia. The epithet of hero bears different significations according to the opinions of men and the customs of each country. The principal exploits of Kouli-Khan, however, consist in having committed the greatest horrors, the most prominent of which is his having put out the eyes of several princes, to secure the crown for his present master. This hero, who very naturally enjoys the confidence of his sovereign, and who also possesses great influence on the mind of Abbas Mirza, the presumptive heir to the throne, is the chief of the regular army of Persia. But notwithstanding his constant intercourse with French and English officers, who have at different times undertaken to organize and instruct his troops, Kouli-Khan has not, nor ever will have, the least knowledge of the military art. To be more rash than valiant ; to manage a horse at the age of fifty-six as skilfully as the best horseman in Persia ; constantly to be urging the Shah to a war with Russia, and when defeated to conclude a peace with the firm resolution of exciting to revolt, by the basest means, the tribes of the

Caucasus, and of other provinces which form the boundaries of the empire; to abandon himself to every excess in voluptuousness and intemperance, to such a degree as to fall asleep in the presence of a diplomatic body, and that in open contravention to the divine laws of his religion,—are the public and private qualifications that recommended Kouli-Khan to the ambassador Yermolow.

It is a fact, that this general caused that proud hero of Persia, who boasted of bending his head only to the sun and his master, to come out and receive him, and that he thereby experienced a humiliation which in Persia is now used as a taunting proverb; but Yermolow knew, that the most effectual means of bringing about the reconciliation desired by the Emperor Alexander, was by treating the base flatterers and perfidious intriguers with whom he was going to negotiate in the manner he adopted. He knew, that the humiliation he subjected this favourite to, would heighten in the fantastical imaginations of the Persians the Russian power, which is the only conciliatory means that can be used with those destructive hordes, who never hesitate an instant in violating their treaties. Those however who know the personal character of Yermolow, and who are well acquainted with every circumstance



connected with that embassy, know also that this general only adopted that conduct, which is indeed contrary to his real character, after very mature consideration; and that he never made a parade of arrogance and haughtiness in Persia, as many other ambassadors have done in nations *which are not in Asia*.

On General Yermolow arriving at the court of the Shah, he declared, previous to the solemn audience which that prince was to grant him, that neither he nor any one belonging to his suite could, in their character of military officers of Russia, subscribe to take off any part of their uniform, or in other words, submit to the Asiatic ceremony of taking off their boots, nor assume a cloak, however rich, or any other kind of foreign dress; nor, being a European, sit on the ground, as had been done by others through mere condescension. There is no doubt that this declaration wounded the pride and deep-rooted fanaticism of the court of Persia, and that there were not wanting persons in it who construed it as a direct insult; yet General Yermolow was never made acquainted with the repugnance it created, though they endeavoured to obtain his consent to their wishes by employing flattery and cunning, the characteristic features of this nation. The time for the audience having ar-

rived, the Shah received the ambassador according to the declaration made by the latter, and with all the pomp and magnificence displayed by those sovereigns on the most solemn occasions. The general and his suite entered with their boots and spurs on, according to Russian etiquette, without regarding whether the carpets of the Shah were richer than those in the palaces of their sovereign. The general was conducted to a richly embroidered arm-chair, the first article of this kind of furniture which had ever been seen in this place, and which proves that the repugnance on the part of the Shah could not have been so great, since he himself had ordered that seat to be made, and placed there for the ambassador, in honour to the august prince he represented.

I have seen the original picture taken on this occasion, in which the Shah is represented sitting according to the Eastern manner, his dress adorned with the finest diamonds and precious stones, some of which are concealed by his long black beard, so celebrated throughout his empire. On each side of the throne are seen standing his numerous children, symmetrically placed according to their size; opposite to him are some of his ministers, and at a distance of about twenty paces is the ambassador sitting in

the splendid arm-chair, with his hat in his hand, surrounded by his numerous suite, all of them standing. On the left of the Shah, not far from the throne, are four lictors, armed with their hatchets, and standing beside a large basin of water, where fall the heads of those victims whom the Shah often capriciously condemns by an almost imperceptible sign to the lictors, whose presence appeared to be an integral part of this day's ceremony. During this audience the Shah lavished on the ambassador the most extravagant and fulsome compliments, comparing him to the sun and to the planets; he conferred on the whole of the Russian legation the Persian order of the sun, and decorated the general with the cordon of this order, giving him among other presents the richest *plaque* in turquoises and diamonds that was ever presented by him.

Though the treaties which gave rise to this embassy were then ratified by the Shah, the perfidious conduct of Persia, in great measure, invalidated them; and General Yermolow, who was immediately after that mission invested with the chief command of the army of Georgia, has met with many obstacles in the way of their execution. Without entering into details which would lead me far beyond my limits, I shall in

the sequel say sufficient to prove, that the court of Persia never intended to observe those treaties, notwithstanding the assurances of the agents<sup>1</sup> whom they are continually sending to Teffis, and even to St. Petersburg, to justify their insidious conduct.

To return now to the subject of the Caucasus. This prodigious barrier between Europe and Asia offers on every side the most varied and picturesque scenery. The two principal mountains which crown this extensive chain, are the Kasbek, rising in the form of a sugar-loaf, and eternally covered with snow, and Elborus,

<sup>1</sup> During my residence in the Russian capital a Khan, sent by the Shah with several presents for the Emperor, arrived there. This personage received many civilities from several persons of the court, and was invited to their fetes, at one of which, given by an aid-de-camp of the Emperor, I was present. The customs of his country were so strictly observed towards him on this occasion, that every thing he could possibly desire had been anticipated. His entertainer presented me to him, believing that since he was shortly to return to his country we might possibly travel together, and I had afterwards many opportunities of seeing him. It was evident from the tenor of his conversation that fear alone, which he disguised under the name of respect for General Yermolow, was the true origin of his mission. In one of my visits to him he presented me with a pair of Persian embroidered boots, which I sent as a remembrance to General Mina, who was then an emigrant in Paris.

which is a few leagues to the east from the former. The breadth of this chain differs considerably ; but, even in its narrowest part, it is more than two hundred wersts across. There is a valley in its eastern part, called by the ancients *Porta Cumana*, which is above one hundred and fifty wersts in extent. From both sides of the *Caucasus* flow a great number of streams, which fertilize and embellish the country through which they wind their course, and which, as they unite, form considerable rivers. The mineral waters of these mountains are as abundant as they are efficacious in their virtues.

Nearly a million of men, capable of bearing arms in their kind of warfare, inhabit these mountains. Children only twelve years of age are often seen participating in the dangers and rapine of their fathers, while others of fourteen, already disabled by their wounds, are confined to their houses.

These mountaineers are divided into various tribes, differing in language, customs, and religion. Independence would be their idol, were they in a more advanced state of civilization ; and were the internal dissensions to which they are constantly a prey, and which their fiery passions help to foment, to cease. But hitherto the characteristic marks of these tribes, more or

less savage, are, a love of arms, and a decided inclination for pillage and assassination. Every thing concurs to prove, that these people, divided among themselves, and having an inveterate hatred of each other, have been strangers to the benefits of peace from the most remote periods of antiquity. They attack with a fury and impetuosity unknown even to the most warlike nations, and resist with the utmost desperation, often in their defeat biting off their tongues through rage at the disappointment. Vengeance, however, is the predominant passion of these mountaineers, who, if before dying they should have been unable to gratify it, bequeath it in their last agonies to their children or their nearest relations, and this bequest is considered by them as a divine precept.

The Caucasian, impelled by his love for pillage, which indeed is his only means of support, follows the first bold chief who raises the war cry. In the ardour of his impetuous attack, he is seen confounded with his leader, and sharing all his dangers ; but, like the corsairs, if he reap no real profit by his excursion, if he lose all hope of booty, he abandons him with as much indifference as he showed eagerness to follow him. Always uncertain of his own existence, he is a stranger to the pleasures of domestic

life. Passionately fond of his personal independence, he is not linked by any moral feeling to those beautiful women with whom he lives, nor to the innocent children to whom he has given being. The greatest part of the inhabitants of the Caucasus never conceal their women from public view, whatever be the religion they profess; (a custom so rigorously observed in Persia, and in some provinces which at present belong to Russia;) on the contrary, they are indifferent about it, for they value them less than their horses. Hence when old age or infirmity compels them to abandon their career, the eldest son immediately takes possession of his father's arms and accoutrements, which descend from generation to generation, whilst the invalid veteran selects the darkest corner of the house, where he awaits the approach of death with a stoicism which would be very commendable, were it not the result of his uncivilized state.

The population of the Caucasus has been increased at five different epochs. The Lesghis, who from the remotest period of time have inhabited that country, and who still preserve their pristine manners, inhabit, at the present day, the most prosperous provinces of the Caucasus. The Georgians, the Monguls, the Arabs, and lastly the Tartars, are the others who have

successively contributed to its population. Some of the inhabitants are still idolaters, a few Christians, and the majority Mahometans.

The princess of Georgia Tamar, interested in the destiny of these tribes, succeeded in introducing the Christian religion among several of them; but, some centuries after, when the Mahometans carried every where their victorious arms, Christianity gradually became extinct, and only a few ruins of churches now remain. The rest transmitted from one to another their respective religions, which they still preserve unchanged. The Scotch missionaries, who some years ago visited the Caucasus with the view of propagating the Christian religion, did not obtain the favourable result which they had anticipated; neither have the efforts of the Jesuits been more successful.

The Tchetchenkis are, of all the tribes of the Caucasus, the most addicted to pillage. Their houses are generally very uncomfortable hovels; a skin spread before the fire serves them for a bed, and their food consists of an indigestive kind of bread scarcely baked upon heated stones, and of meat which they eat almost raw. When a Tchetchenki gets any brandy, which he only obtains by plunder, as none is ever made in this country, he is so enraptured with it, that he



believes himself transported into a paradise of delights. He drinks till he is intoxicated, and then all the other excesses follow.

His predatory life does not allow him to devote any of his time to agriculture; and the manufactures of the capital consist only of such articles as are necessary for the warfare in which he is constantly engaged. Hence nothing else is seen there but arms, ammunition, horse-accoutrements, &c.; the lace and other ornaments of the dresses of the chiefs and nobles being worked by the women. A little barley, scarcely any wheat, some tobacco, and a great quantity of onions, constitute the whole produce of their agricultural labours; nature, which is here so prodigal of its bounties, bestows the rest. Whilst the men are engaged in hunting, or in their freebooting excursions, or in rioting in every excess, far from their homes, to which they seldom return without some spoils, or a human prey, who is obliged to drag his wretched existence in slavery; their women occupy themselves in the household affairs, and in the care of their children.

The Tchetchenkis are commonly of a lower stature than the Tartars, who inhabit the other side of the mountains; but they are equally robust and cunning. Their weapons consist of a gun, a

pistol, a poniard, and sometimes a sabre. The lance and the arrow are not common among these mountaineers, these arms being chiefly used by the inhabitants of the plains. As they are in the habit of never parting with their weapons, especially with their poniard, which night and day they have at their side, the manner of wearing it marking the degree of martial elegance among them, their usual attitude, even at home, is to be grasping its hilt. This weapon is the most dreadful of any used by these men. The smallest blade is a foot and a half long, and has two edges, so very sharp, that it might serve the purpose of a razor. The greatest part of the blade is impregnated with a venomous composition which renders every wound mortal. In cases where their ruin appears inevitable, they either plunge the poniard in their own bosoms or throw it with great skill at their nearest adversary.

The costume of all the northern tribes of the Caucasus is similar to that of the Circassians or Tcherkesses.

The Assetinians are not such a freebooting race as the Tchetchenkis ; but, according to the report of persons who know them well, they, if possible, surpass all others in rancour and revenge ; of which the following is a specimen.

An Assetinian, whose father had been murdered while he was still an infant, avenged his father's death on the assassin, as soon as he found himself strong enough to cope with his adversary; and, having thus gratified his feelings of revenge, carried to his home the orphan child of the man he had sacrificed, and intrusted it to the care of his wife. This child, who was then but a few years old, grew up in the house of his self-constituted tutor, whose blood he then spilt to avenge the death of his father.

The Assetinians cultivate rice, which is their principal food. Their houses, customs, &c. are the same as those of the Tchetchenkis. Their arms are still finer, and are bequeathed from father to son as the most sacred inheritance; hence the great antiquity of those which have frequently been taken from them in the field of battle. If the rapacity of the Persians, and their predilection for the women of these countries, had not caused the frightful scenes of which till the present time Georgia has been the theatre, and obliged its princes to place themselves under the protection of a Christian empire, they might, being in good intelligence with the Georgians and the Assetinians, who are in possession of all the defiles of the Caucasus, have rendered fruitless any attempt on the part of

Russia to cross this barrier, whatever might have been the force employed to attain it. On the summit of the highest rocks, particularly in the country of the Assetinians, and where it seems impossible for any human being to climb, live some hermits, of different religions, in the cavities of the rocks; but where they by no means spend a life of abstinence, as their superstitious countrymen place within their reach all sorts of provisions, and feed the idleness in which these saints live.

The Assetinians enjoy at present a state of peace, hunting and tending of cattle being their principal occupations.

On each side of the military road of Mozdok near the entrance of the defiles are two tribes, known by the name of the Great and Little Kabarda, professing the Mahometan religion, who are more skilful horsemen than the Tchetchenkis, and occupy the Asiatic side of the Terak. Their principal arms are a long gun and a sabre. Some of their chiefs wear a coat of mail. They make use of the gun only in their flight through the plains, when, hooking the bridle on the pommel of their saddle, they manage their gun with both hands, and, turning on their short stirrups, take so good an aim that they seldom fail in hit-

ting the object of their mark at an ordinary distance, even at full gallop.

The country of the Lesghi Tartars, who occupy the greatest part of the opposite side of the mountains, extends to a considerable distance towards the Daghestan. The generality of these people are distinguished by their industrious habits, martial spirit, and the prodigious skill and agility with which they manage their horses and their arms in the steepest acclivities of the mountains. Their costume is the same as the Persians and Georgians. Their character is circumspect and reserved, prudent in their popular deliberations, zealous in their observance of the law of the prophet, and careful of their women.

There are other tribes extending from the country of the Lesghis to the Daghestan. Shirvan and Karawah are the principal provinces incorporated with the Russian empire, and forming the limits of Persia.

All these numerous tribes, however, may be divided into three classes; namely, the Tcherkesses, or Circassians, the Kabardines and the Tchetchenkis, who occupy the northern side of the Caucasus, the Assetinians, who are on the road to Teflis, and who in fact belong to the

Georgian family, and the Lesghis, who inhabit the eastern side of that chain of mountains.

With respect to those tribes who are to the west of Mozdok, it appears that Russia has made treaties with the Divan; but the bad faith of the Porte, and still more its own interest, are the cause that these nations still remain in the most deplorable state of barbarism; so that the complete pacification of the Caucasus is a source of more trouble and expense to Russia, than might be a triumphal entry into Constantinople. Her unremitting efforts to attain this object, therefore, are entitled to the praises of the enlightened and Christian nations of Europe, as it cannot be disputed that the greatest benefit which can be rendered to humanity is, to introduce civilization into countries whose inhabitants, now wanderers, now slaves, and always at war with each other, perpetually renew the scenes of cruelty of the dark ages, disregard the rights of property, outrage the best feelings of man, tear asunder the closest ties of society, and delight only in lasciviousness, plunder, and assassination.

## CHAP. X.

The Russian army in Georgia—Military operations—The author sets out for Teflis the capital of Georgia—Bad discipline of the Asiatic troops in the Russian service—Schalkowskoïe—Fogs—Cloaks denominated Bourkas—Military contingents—Service by the Cossacks of the Don, and of the Terak—Wine of Kislar—The author arrives at Mozdok and revisits the Jesuit Henri—Conversations with the latter—Anecdote.

THE Caucasus was still in a state of insurrection, in consequence of the late war between Russia and Persia, when General Yermolow was invested with the government of those provinces. The regular troops, notwithstanding the annual reinforcement sent to the different armies of the empire, did not amount to three complete divisions. The constant intrigues of the Persians, who though they had subscribed by the late treaty of peace to the cession of some of the frontier provinces still continued to encourage revolts, rendered necessary the military occupation of several important points, and con-

sequently fresh additions to the army of Georgia. The Emperor Alexander, who according to general opinion wished to remove from the centre of his states those soldiers who on account of their residence in France had imbibed notions at variance with passive obedience, ordered a great part of the infantry who had served under the command of Count Woronzoff to proceed to Georgia.

General Yermolow, who was daily expecting the arrival of these troops, quitted Teflis, the capital of Georgia, where he left his second in command Lieutenant-general Williaminoff, brother to the chief of the staff, intrusted with the care of this province, and, crossing the Caucasus, undertook in person the first operations against those mountaineers who inhabited the northern side of the Caucasus, and whose lawless conduct called for immediate coercion. The plan which this general proposed to follow in order to repress their plundering excursions, protect the troops either stationary or transitory, cause the authority, which they themselves should establish, to be respected, and shelter their more peaceable neighbours from their outrages, was by means of a chain of redoubts and fortresses established throughout the country.

The obstinacy of the Tchetchenkis in per-



severing in their marauding system, which their priests fomented by promulgating as a divine precept, that God, after the creation of the world, authorized the inhabitants of the Caucasus to live at the expense of their neighbours, and their influence on the Kabardines, with whom they occasionally unite to attack the Christian colonies who are established on the line of the Terak, were the motives that induced General Yermolow to commence here his operations. Immediately on his arrival at the capital, he ordered that fortifications should be raised, not only in front of the city, but in all the principal avenues to the mountains, and communicating with the Terak, a measure the more necessary, as the troops after the battle which decided the success of his expedition having remained some time at Andreïewsky, and the resources of the country being extremely scanty, all the provisions were to be brought from the line of the Terak.

I had already spent three days at Andreïewsky, when the general-in-chief delivered to me some despatches for his second at Teflis, from which city I was to proceed to the place where my regiment was quartered. A flying column being on the point of proceeding on an inferior expedition in my road, under the orders

of Count Tolstai, one of Yermolow's aid-de-camps, I profited of this opportunity and left head-quarters on the evening of the 10th. This column was composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen, some of whom belonged to the squadrons contributed by the colonies of the Terak, and others were Tcherkesses and Tchetchenkis, who served in the Russian army. Not far from Andreïewsky, after crossing the mountains, there is a vast plain which extends without interruption as far as the Terak. Beyond it is a redoubt, where we halted for the night. This was the first time I had travelled with this kind of troops. The most irregular guerillas of the army of the Faith in Spain could not be compared with them, so great was the disorder, noise, and dispersion of these Asiatics. It is impossible they could have been of any advantage, had the enemy not been as undisciplined as themselves.

The Cossacks of the Terak are most of them commanded, during active service, by officers drawn from the regular Russian cavalry. When they are with the regular army, their discipline and subordination equal those of the Russian soldiers; but, once united with the mountaineers, they easily catch the contagion. Although I could not understand a word of the mixture of

languages of these different horsemen, I could easily perceive that the secret of the expedition of this column would not remain long unrevealed on their becoming acquainted with it.

We spent the night in the redoubt, a prey to continual alarms, occasioned by the firing of arms, and tumult of these Asiatics. In the morning, when the hour of our departure arrived, neither the example of the regular troops nor that of the Cossacks was sufficient to induce them to collect their horses, which, like themselves, were seen running about in all directions. The task of introducing the European discipline among the Mussulmans is likely to prove always unsuccessful, as it is an idea prevalent, not only among these tribes, but even among the Tartars and the Persians, that the true merit of a warrior consists in his personal courage, and that the military tactics of the Europeans are the result of their cowardice. Not all the examples and the severe lessons they have received are sufficient to convince them of the advantages of discipline; for, when they are defeated, they attribute it to the displeasure of Heaven.

On the 11th, at about noon, I parted from the column with eight Cossacks, assigned me by the chief of the column for my escort. A courier, who was carrying despatches to the Empe-

ror, accompanied me as far as Schalkowskoïe, where we arrived at night-fall. He immediately proceeded on his journey, and I passed the night at the same house where I had previously lodged. The Russian couriers have the rank of officers, and ascend according to their merit; they wear a very simple uniform, and, for the better security of the despatches with which they are intrusted, they constantly carry, fastened to the chest by means of straps, a leather portfolio, with a lock, a key of which is kept at the offices of the ministry. They are obliged to travel night and day in a telega. Some couriers have travelled from the head-quarters of the Caucasus to St. Petersburg in ten days.

At Schalkowskoïe, I met at the house of a Russian lady a young French woman, who had abandoned her home at Nancy, and followed a Russian officer of the number of those who had lately arrived at the Caucasus, and who had been obliged to leave her at this place, far from the field of operations. Notwithstanding her pretty figure, her national amiability, and her studied toilet, she by no means shone in this country, which may be properly called *the nursery of beauties*; but she took her revenge by saying witty things, and making satires on the rusticity of her rivals.

I left Schalkowskoïe on the following day, with such a thick fog as scarcely to permit us seeing our way, and which is very frequent on the borders of the Terak. But when a traveller is fortunate enough to pass this way on a clear day, the scenery, which shifts at every step, presents the most magnificent prospects, varied by the numberless configurations of the Caucasus.

My host of Schalkowskoïe had procured me a kind of black cloak, called Bourka, of very thick cloth, truly water-proof, and resisting even the cut of a sabre. These cloaks are manufactured by the Lesghis, are fastened at the neck by two rings and a handkerchief, or a strap, and are very generally used by the inhabitants of the Caucasus, Georgia, and Persia. They have likewise been adopted by the Russians who serve in this country, and are as useful in the march as in the bivouac.

My escort was composed of four Cossacks, who, accustomed to the sudden attacks and ambuscades of the Tchetchenkis during the fog, proceeded through the forest on each side of me, with their gun in hand, ready to fire at the first onset. Having traversed this perilous forest without meeting with any accident, we arrived at a military station, the commandant of which

invited me to breakfast with him, and another comrade of his, called Yefimowitch, who had just arrived from head-quarters, and with whom I had become acquainted there. I afterwards continued my journey in the company of the latter, conversing on the different objects we had met in our travels.

All the colonists of the Terak, who occupy an extent of land of more than a hundred wersts, are formed into squadrons for active service, in which they are enlisted from fifteen to fifty years of age. Besides the escorts which they are bound to give to the convoys, officers, and couriers, as well as other local assistance which they must furnish during the passage of troops, in common with all the different countries of the empire, such as lodging, firing, &c., they are bound to keep always in readiness the third part of their military force, which is relieved from time to time by an equal number, that the agricultural labours and other domestic occupations may not be neglected; for the produce of the general industry is equally divided among them all. These Cossacks, moreover, furnish to the troops on the eastern side of the Caucasus a contingent of one or two squadrons per quarter.

General Yermolow, well aware of the advantages which may be obtained from the good dis-

positions of these new colonists, and wishing to increase the artillery, caused some companies of Cossacks to be formed, whose services I shall have hereafter an opportunity of mentioning.

The Cossacks<sup>1</sup> of the Terak when they are in active service receive a small pay, with which they manage to live and keep their horses. Here they build and repair their own houses, as well as those of their officers and chiefs, which are all constructed of wood, the neighbourhood furnishing a great abundance. When provisions are to be transported in great quantities, the cattle of the neighbouring Kalmucks are put in requisition, to avoid the serious injury which would otherwise be sustained by a colony which may be said to be yet in its infancy.

The Cossacks of the Terak offer the strongest contrast, by their laborious habits, probity, and subordination, to their plundering neighbours of the mountains, in whose pacification none are more interested than these colonists. All the Tchetchenkis, however, who had escaped from the route of Andreïewsky had thrown themselves on that side of the Terak which constitutes the

<sup>1</sup> When a Cossack is mentioned, be it of the Don or of the Terak, it is always understood to be a man on horseback; for neither of them ever serves on foot, except in his own country.

furthest limits of their country. Parties of Cossacks were incessantly detached against them from the opposite bank, who seldom returned from their excursions without some trophies or booty. As we proceeded on our way, we met at various distances markets of horses taken from the enemy, and about noon we arrived amidst this kind of fair at a small place twenty wersts from Naur, where my companion Yefimowitch resided, and had some colonists under his orders. His house had only one floor; but the four rooms which it contained were well distributed, nor was the furniture so contemptible, though the greatest part of it had been made by the colonists. His attendants served us dinner with as much cleanliness as activity. This was the first time I remarked the excellent flavour of the wine of Kislar, which I had been drinking since my arrival in this country: it tastes very like that of Rioja in Spain, which like the former is little known to foreigners. During dinner I spoke to this officer of the Jesuits of Mozdok, to ascertain from him how they were looked upon in the country. Yefimowitch, who without being a Catholic knew them, passed many eulogies, especially on Father Henri, whose virtues and prudent conduct, he said, had gained him the esteem of the whole country, giving it



as his opinion, that both were useful instruments for ameliorating the moral conduct of the people, particularly as they never meddled with politics, as most of the members of their society are in the habit of doing.

Having parted from Commandant Yefimowitch before sunset, I reached Naur at night, and at day-break set off with my escort for Mozdok, where I arrived before noon. "What do you bring for me, my dear major?" was the first question Father Henri put to me on my alighting at the door of his dwelling. I answered that I brought him a curiosity, to which he said he hoped it was not the ears of some Tchetchensky; and when I told him that it was a parchment of Mecca which I had taken in the mosque of Andreïewsky on purpose for him, and which, as he knew Arabic, would afford him some amusement, he added, "Oh, give it me, give it me; I will send it with the translation to my superiors as a remembrance from a Catholic Spaniard. Well!" continued he after receiving the parchment, "how do you find Yermolow?"

Aware of the import of this question I answered it in the most laconic manner. "You little know theameleon you have but just seen," said he, and then proceeded to relate several political anecdotes relative to the Empe-

ror and this general, and which, as I am not certain they are true, I omit. He then added, that the only way which Alexander could devise to remove this general from his person was by bestowing on him the chief command of this army of madmen, who, like their chief, would fall victims to the savages against whom they were fighting. "Yermolow," he concluded, "with all his policy, hates every foreigner, he cannot endure the Poles, and, whether heretic or no, he detests the priests. He is aware, however, of the benefit which the whole world has derived from our society; he himself has owned this a thousand times to me, yet were he at St. Petersburg, like the rest, would contribute to the blow which threatens the fathers in Russia, in contempt of the benefits which the Tzars have received from the Pope."

It was easy for me to guess the benefits to which Father Henri alluded, and I replied, that I could not see the connexion between the events of the seventeenth century, and the good or bad qualities of General Yermolow. "When you become intimate with the Catholic officers who serve in the army of the Caucasus, you will perceive your error and agree with me respecting this general."

Wishing to put an end to this subject, I told

him that a foreigner who came to serve in the Russian army ought not to scrutinize the private conduct of his chief, as his duties were confined to obedience, and the rendering himself useful; but I could not help expressing some surprise that a man whom every impartial person represented as a model of virtue, religion, and hospitality, and who was in fact so, should so suddenly overstep his natural modesty when the conversation turned on political matters, which indeed are so foreign to the true ministry of a clergyman. To this, Father Henri replied with all his French vivacity, "What would become of our society were we not to meddle with temporal affairs? Do you know what a French lady said at the time of the Revolution to Buonaparte, when he manifested some displeasure at hearing the ladies talk politics? 'When ladies,' said she, 'lose their heads by the guillotine, it is high time they should talk politics.' When we are expelled from every state, and are to be reduced to the condition of a wandering tribe, it is high time, major, that the fathers of our society should interfere with politics."

On the following day after my arrival at Mozdok, and previous to my departure, Father Henri conducted me to a church which was then

constructing, and requested me to make him a drawing for the altar-piece. To this I acceded with pleasure, adding a small gift towards the completion of this edifice, which was all that the missionary would accept from me in return for his hospitality. I then bade him farewell and left Mozdok.

## CHAP. XI.

Appearance of the country near the river Terak—Game—Largo eagle—Redoubt of Elizabeth—The Kabardines—Town and fort of Wladi Caucasus—Pure atmosphere—The mountain-passes—Balta—Romantic scenery—Redoubt of Larskoï—Extraordinary rock and ancient fortress—Darial redoubt in the gorges of the Caucasus—Course of the Terak—Mount Kasbek—Avalanches—Villago of Kasbek—Kobi—Hill of St. Christopher—Descent of the mountains at Kaichaw—River Aragua—Perpetual spring—Enchanting valleys of Georgia—Greek church at Ananur—Description of Georgia—Douchet—Meskhet—River Kur—The idol Armasm—Arrival at Teflis.

BEYOND Mozdok, and before crossing the Terak, travellers coming from Georgia are obliged to perform quarantine, whilst those coming from the south meet on the opposite side with a similar impediment. General Yermolow has established several other quarantines as far as Teflis and throughout Georgia, with the view of preventing the introduction of the plague, which previous to his government had frequently been brought to this country by its neighbours, the

Turks and the Persians. I crossed the Terak in a barge, and arrived early in the afternoon at the place of quarantine, where I underwent but a slight examination, as no danger was to be apprehended from the direction I came.

From the river Terak to the foot of the Caucasus, there are three important military posts; namely, the redoubt of Constantine, which is thirty-three wersts from the river; that of Elizabeth, twenty-eight wersts further; and the fortress of Wladi Caucasus, twenty-two wersts from the last. Every day at dawn a convoy, consisting of from a hundred and fifty to three hundred men, and almost always with a field-piece, proceeds from one point to the other, a very necessary precaution to prevent any audacious attack from the bands of Kabardines and Tcherkesses, who overrun the country on each side of the road.

I left the place of quarantine the next morning with the convoy, which did not reach till noon the first redoubt, where I was obliged to pass the night, in order to proceed in the same order of march on the following day. The troops stationed in these redoubts are very well lodged; and, as these places likewise serve to shelter the Armenian merchants and other travellers in their journey through this country, there are inns,

kept by Russians, or by people of the country, which are generally well provided with all sorts of provisions. The soldiers have, near the redoubts, gardens, which they cultivate for their own use; and, as in every military cantonment in Russia, vapour-baths, which are much in use among the Russians.

Between Mozdok and Wladi Caucasus, there are two extensive plains, intersected by a long chain of mountains of the second order, running almost parallel with the principal chain, and crowned with thick forests. From their summit is seen the redoubt of Constantine, and the line of the Terak. Game is so abundant here, that if the good order which ought to be observed in a convoy did not prevent the travellers from shooting, they alone would be able to furnish daily sufficient game for the troops of the redoubt. As I was walking at a short distance from the vanguard, I observed something dark not far off, which I at first believed to be some men in ambush, but which, on a nearer approach, proved to be an immense eagle, that did not offer to stir, though we passed within pistol-shot of it.

The redoubt of Elizabeth, where we arrived on the following day, is situated in a plain, the soil of which is less fertile than that of the

former. The first redoubt constructed by the Russians in this place, more than twenty years ago, was taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the Kabardines and the Tcherkesses, who reduced it to ruins. Near the redoubt are seen at present some hovels of Kabardines, who are living under the protection of the government. Having forgotten the key of my portmanteau in the redoubt of Constantine, and mentioned it to one of the officers stationed here, he spoke to a Kabardine, who offered to bring it to me in a few hours. This man presented himself to me on horseback, and wore a white band round his flat black cap, which I was told was a distinctive mark of a Kabardine priest.<sup>1</sup> On the following morning, at day-break, the key was in my possession ; but the good Mahometan minister, with whom I was advised to make no agreement lest he should think I mistrusted him, made me pay very dearly for his nocturnal journey.

Half-way between Elizabeth and Wladi Caucasus, the river Terak flows at a short distance from the road. On the banks of this river are seen some hamlets of Kabardines, who, though submitted to the authority established here, are in the habit of sheltering their marauding coun-

<sup>1</sup> This same mark is worn among the other tribes of the Caucasus by the Mussulmans who have been at Mecca.



trymen ; a circumstance which renders travelling, even in sight of this fortress, unsafe.

We arrived before noon at Wladi Caucasus, which means, in Russian, the empire of the Caucasus, probably because it is the gate of the only practicable passage through these mountains. This town, which is but newly built on a very regular plan, offers a striking contrast to the other places in this country. There is a military hospital, very advantageously situated with respect to salubrity ; and, as Wladi Caucasus is the residence of several families of employés, the society is a great inducement for any officer or traveller whose duties do not render his immediate departure necessary, to make a short stay in this place. The commandant of Wladi Caucasus, who is usually a colonel or a major-general, inhabits a house belonging to government, situated in the finest part of the town, the walls of which are bathed by the Terak, which is again crossed by a wooden bridge. The many forests abounding with game, by which Wladi Caucasus is surrounded, the fertility of the neighbouring country, and the purity of the atmosphere, all contribute to make this city the most agreeable place of residence.

I left Wladi Caucasus the day after my arrival with an escort of twenty infantry and two Cos-

sacks, who accompanied me as far as a small Assetinian village called Balta, where there is a redoubt, in which I passed the night.

After crossing the Terak, all the posts as far as the frontiers of Persia are served by Cossacks of the Don, who furnish the army of Georgia with several regular squadrons, more or less numerous according to circumstances. These men do not only escort the travellers, but furnish them with horses, for which they are paid at the same rate as if they belonged to the post. In all the stations of Cossacks which are without the redoubts, there is a watch-tower, built of wood, in which a sentry is always posted to observe the surrounding country. From Wladi Caucasus till after crossing the defiles and the mountains, the escorts of infantry are relieved at short distances, the chain of redoubts maintaining an active communication, and contributing to the safety of the road.

This from the above place to Balta proceeds along the brow of the mountains, and will only attract the attention of those who have not seen the Pyrenees or the Alps; but beyond that redoubt, every step offers a prodigy of nature or of art. When the rigour of the season, which in the Caucasus lasts from the month of November till March, is passed, the usual day's journey is

from Balta to Kasbek, a distance of twenty-five wersts. Several small villages perched in places almost inaccessible are passed, as well as two redoubts, the first of which is called Larskoï, and the second Darial. On descending the height on which Balta stands, the road, the construction of which must have cost immense labour, passes through steep rocks, among which the Terak flows compressed into a narrow channel. Beyond it there is a natural arch formed by a rock extending eight or ten paces, and as the road proceeds along the borders of the impetuous torrent, its foaming waters fall in showers, scattering themselves over the road. From this spot is seen, on a great elevation, the redoubt Larskoï, beyond which the defiles as far as Darial are of such a nature, that a hundred men standing on the summits of the inaccessible rocks which form them, and hurling down missiles, would suffice to arrest the progress of the most formidable army, especially as there is no avenue by which those heights might be turned. In many parts of the road the rocks meet and form an archway, whose wide fissures and cleft vaults seem as if they would every moment obstruct it. On leaving these defiles behind, and before reaching the redoubt of Darial, the Terak is again crossed by a bridge. Opposite to the en-

trance of the defile, and within a short distance of the bridge, rises in the middle of the river a rock seven hundred feet in height, on the summit of which is an old fortress, which for many ages has commanded this passage. By placing on it a few cannon, and destroying the bridge, no human power could cross the Caucasus.

If on one side we are struck with awe at the work of nature, on the other we are no less surprised at seeing built on such a height a fortress which was provided with water by an aqueduct, the remains of which are still perceivable, and a vaulted road descending to the river. On the summit of the rock the soil, which is capable of cultivation, would maintain a garrison of eight hundred men.

Darial in the Tartar language means a gate, and certainly no name could be more appropriate for this place, where the traveller is ocularly convinced of the horrible tyranny which Persia must have exercised over Georgia to oblige her to cut a passage through the Caucasus, in order to communicate with the empire to which its provinces now belong. Indeed, General Yermolow has done every thing in his power to open a road through the Daghestan; but I shall have an opportunity of mentioning in the sequel the

serious obstacles which oppose themselves to its execution.

The commandant of the redoubt Darial, which is not far from the bridge, invited me, as a good comrade, to dine with him, and I own that had I been able to spend a day in the redoubt without inconveniencing him, I should have done so with the greatest pleasure, so intense was my curiosity to see more of this interesting country, into which my entry was marked by an eclipse of the moon. This coincidence made the deepest impression on my imagination, which, excited as it was by the imposing objects that surrounded me, made me at the moment forget the simple causes which originated this partial darkness, and raised a thousand strange ideas in my mind. This, when we consider that the sight of the Caucasus alone produces on every admirer of nature an almost supernatural impression, is by no means extraordinary.

After Darial the road offers a different aspect; but, if possible, more imposing. On the right the Terak flows with an astounding noise, rendered more frightful by the deep silence that reigns in these solitudes, and loudly re-echoed on the left by the rocks, piled one above another, and which increase in height as we advanced.

Two wersts further the immense mount Kasbek is seen, rising in the form of a sugar-loaf, from the summit of which avalanches detach themselves almost yearly, and obstruct the road in such a manner that only a narrow passage resembling a cavern is left for the traveller, and through which one proceeds as over a sheet of ice until within one werst of the place called Kasbek. This kind of road offers many obstacles to the artillery, or to any sort of vehicle, and is altogether impracticable during the fall of the avalanches, when the travellers are obliged to pass by means of ropes, in the use of which the Assetinians excel. It is not the pen but the pencil that can sketch the extraordinary aspect presented by that immense mass of snow furrowed by the waters of the Terak, which, dashing themselves from a succession of cascades, keep up a continual roaring truly awful in those rocky defiles.

Although from Darial to Kasbek there is only seven wersts, they occupied me four hours, not so much on account of the difficulties offered by the road, as because my attention was continually attracted, either by the enormous precipices, down which the impetuous torrent rushed, and whose foam surpassed in whiteness that of the snow by which the mountains were

covered, or by the diversity of shapes presented by the rocks.

The small village of Kasbek is surrounded by meadow land, which affords pasture to the cattle of the few inhabitants of this place, where I found a much better lodging than I expected at the house of the late Colonel Kasbek, whose family is one of the most ancient of the Caucasus; indeed so ancient, that it derived its name from the mountain, and descends from one of the chiefs of the Assetinians. This family profess the Greek religion, and the women have all the shyness of the Georgian females. They sent me a bottle of wine of their own vintage, which greatly resembled Madeira both in taste and colour; and when I went to present my respects to them and thank them for their civilities, they all ran away, and hid themselves as if they saw a ghost.

My apartment consisted of a saloon, furnished in the European style, and which had been destined by the colonel, who was a man much attached to the Russians, for the greater convenience of travellers. It was altogether detached from the tower, and did not resemble the latter either in the interior or exterior of its apartments, where I could see the shadows of the women gliding like phantoms to and fro. From

the window of my saloon I had a full view of the mountain Kasbek, whose shining peak, illuminated by the rays of a clear moon, permitted me to distinguish, notwithstanding its being at the distance of thirty wersts, the snows drifted by the wind, which perpetually reigns in those regions, and falling in masses down its perpendicular sides. I was here told, that an English traveller, having prepared himself with every thing he stood in need of for the ascent, succeeded in reaching, accompanied by a guide, about the middle of the mountain; but, when he attempted to ascend higher, the pain he felt in the chest and ears was so great, that he was obliged to content himself with leaving a mark, and retrace his steps. It is asserted that the Kasbek is one of the three highest points of the globe.

The village of Kasbek contains above three hundred inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are shepherds and vassals of the present proprietor, the son of the late colonel. The party of Cossacks, which is the only troop stationed here, as the inhabitants excite no apprehensions, all of them being Christians, are quartered in a house contiguous to that of the lord of the village. Hurricanes are here very frequent, either on account of the proximity to the mountain, or of



the great elevation on which the village stands. One of them was experienced on the night of my sojourn here, and shook my apartment so much, that notwithstanding the solidity with which it was built, I expected at every moment to be buried under its ruins.

I left Kasbek on the following morning at day-break, although the account I received respecting the state of the road was by no means encouraging, and although the rain and the wind were both high and violent. My escort consisted only of six Cossacks belonging to this station; but it was sufficient, as we had no danger to apprehend. The road from the above village to Kobi, which is seventeen wersts distant, offers nothing very remarkable, except that the country is a little more open. On the right of the road and in a small valley stands the redoubt of Kobi, where travellers find tolerably good lodgings, and a magazine of provisions, kept by a Russian, not very well provided.

Beyond Kobi is a high mountain, over which the road passes, and at the foot of which are some ferruginous waters, which have restored to health many persons who in Georgia were thought incurable. Although we were on horseback, and followed by a small escort of infantry, accustomed to march in these places, we spent

seven hours in performing seventeen wersts, which is the distance between Kobi and Kaichaur. The mountain we ascended, which is called Kristogara, or St. Christopher, is the most elevated point the traveller meets in crossing the Caucasus. There is on the summit a wooden cross, and a cabin inhabited by an Assetinian family. At this point the course of the rivers which flow through the valleys of the Caucasus takes an opposite direction. The wind, which during the whole day was very high, and which on the top of the mountain blew furiously, gave me a tolerable idea of what it must be in the middle of winter, when, according to the account I received from the officers of the redoubt, travelling in vehicles is quite impracticable, notwithstanding the excellence of the road, which has as much width and solidity as any in the empire. Indeed, the whole passage throughout these mountains is so obstructed during that season, that the extraordinary couriers sent from Teflis to St. Petersburg, are obliged to make use of ropes and other contrivances to effect their passage through these defiles.

The head of the Assetinian family established on the summit of St. Christopher, and whose good will I gained by presenting him with some brandy, a liquor of which the Assetinians are

passionately fond, accompanied me as far as the redoubt, and, as I was informed, had rendered many useful services to travellers, particularly in winter, when, to the great astonishment of all, his hut and family had hitherto resisted the excessive rigours of winter in that unsheltered situation, where they are almost buried in the snow. These attentions on his part are the more singular; as, besides what I have already said respecting the character of the Assetinians, it is not long since some of his countrymen assassinated in the most cruel manner all the Russian soldiers whom they could surprise in those difficult passages. It is necessary to have all the avarice of the Armenian merchants to support, with still more patience than their own beasts, the painful conveyance of their merchandise; preferring the numberless inconveniences of this road, rather than give the least gratification to the inhabitants of the country, who might afford them such effectual assistance, and who would thereby take an interest in the success of their undertakings; whilst at present it is only by the presence of the troops that the mountaineers are prevented from plundering them.

On the following day I set off, accompanied by four Cossacks, and with remarkably fine weather to cheer my journey. We began de-

seending the immense elevation on which Kaichaur is situated, and which is the last difficult passage of the Caucasus ; when, two hours after leaving that place, in exchange for the terrific beauties of nature, the most varied and enchanting scenery presented itself. At the bottom of the precipices, which we were now leaving in the rear, are seen scattered about several small villages and fertile valleys, watered by the river Aragua, which has its source near St. Christopher, and which flows in an opposite direction to the Tcrak. In these valleys, which enjoy an eternal spring, the mildness of the temperature formed the most striking contrast with the excessive cold which is felt during the crossing of St. Christopher, even in summer ; and in proportion as we advanced, Georgia burst on my sight, covered, like Andalusia, with luxuriant fields, and hills crowned with woods, on many of which are seen the ruins of old towers and ancient fortresses. Even in the month of September the trees still preserved the freshness of spring, whilst the harmonious warblings of an immense variety of birds, seemed to announce that we were on the point of treading on the favourite soil of the Creator of the Caucasus.

On the long descent of Kaichaur being terminated, we crossed the Aragua by a bridge, on one

side of which stands a pyramid of stone, marking the limits between the Assetinian territory and Georgia; and at eleven o'clock in the morning we arrived at Passananur, the first village or redoubt which is met with in following the course of the Aragua, the borders of which are pleasantly wooded. The fine sky of Georgia makes a lively impression on the traveller, though he may have been born under that which embellishes the smiling borders of the Guadalquivir; as do also the cheerful countenances and fine stature of the Georgians, contrasted with the gloomy air and mean appearance of the mountaineers.

The road from Passananur to Ananur, a distance of twenty wersts, lies also between the valleys watered by the rapid Aragua, on both sides of which are seen among woods, now country houses, and now the ruins of the flanked towers, which in former times were the means of defence among the Georgians. My escort consisted only of two Cossacks; but with whom I might very well have dispensed, as there could be no danger in a road so much frequented. About three wersts from Ananur are seen the turrets of the ancient Greek church, which is situated on a steep rock, overlooking the town, and opposite to the road. Before reaching the city we were obliged to perform quarantine at a

lodging extremely damp, and well adapted to try the health of the most robust man, where travellers are generally detained four-and-twenty hours.

Ananur, the population of which was formerly very great, contains at present between three and four thousand inhabitants. It is protected by a fortress, the command of which is intrusted to a colonel<sup>1</sup> of the army. The term of my detention at the place of quarantine having expired, I set off, accompanied only by a Cossack. This road, which before the arrival of General Yermolow in Georgia was as dangerous on account of the Lesghis as that passing through the country of the Kabardines, was in 1819 so safe as to render any escort unnecessary. In proportion as I proceeded towards the interior of Georgia, I remarked a greater resemblance between this country and Andalusia; the farms scattered here and there, and within sight of the road, perfectly resemble what in Spain is called *cortijos*; the picturesque situation of the villages; the fertility of the country; the gaiety of the peasants; their merry and continual songs, and even their lazy habits, which their rich soil seems to encourage; every thing assimilates the Georgians to the lower class of Andalusians.

<sup>1</sup> A Russian colonel has no regiment, and is usually employed in a stationary service.

At a short distance from Ananur, after crossing a branch of the Aragua, is the new building for the quarantine, which General Yermolow has caused to be erected to replace that we had just left, and which is extremely well situated. I arrived at Douchet, which is nineteen wersts from Ananur, at sunset, and found a good lodging at the commandant-at-arms, who kindly invited me to spend the night at his house.

Douchet is a larger place than Ananur, and enjoys the most delightful climate. In the evening, as I traversed the town to go to the commandant's residence, which is just outside the gates, I saw most of the inhabitants sitting at the doors of their houses, forming small circles, some chatting merrily, and others singing. The building where the commandant resided, is surrounded by a thick and high wall forming a perfect square. It is encircled by an exterior gallery, and has a large saloon in the centre, and a great number of smaller rooms; all the windows are unglazed; but they have wooden blinds, curiously carved, in the style of those of Andalusia. It has only one floor, the whole built of stone; the roof is flat, and forms a terrace. This place was the ordinary residence of one of the last Tzars. In the saloon was held the supreme tribunal of a country which knew

no law; there the prince gave audience, and in imitation of the Shahs of Persia, exercised various atrocious and tyrannical acts.

The commandant-at-arms, who was a great sportsman, accompanied me very early in the morning till within a short distance of Meskhet, which is nineteen wersts from Douchet. Before arriving at the former town, there is an extensive field on the borders of the Aragua, where the park of instruction for the artillery of the army of Georgia, which is usually stationed at Teflis, is yearly formed.

Meskhet was the capital of the ancient Kurtchistan, now Georgia. The river Kur, formerly Cirus, bathes its ruined walls, and receives the waters of the Aragua. This city continued to be the seat of government for twenty centuries, till one of its Tzars transferred his residence to Twilis, (which in the Georgian language signifies warm springs, and from which Teflis takes its name,) in the hope of deriving some benefit from its waters.<sup>1</sup> The Georgians, referring to

<sup>1</sup> All the accounts I have seen respecting the origin of Teflis state, that it was founded in the eleventh century, by Tzar Liewvang, who, having discovered some warm springs during a hunting expedition, resolved on building that city in the neighbourhood; but the ancient temples of the Magi and other monuments of antiquity which still exist



their ancient confused traditions, pretend, that Meskhet was founded by a near descendant of Noah, who named it after himself, choosing that spot on account of the unrivalled beauty of its situation. There is at Meskhet a church built of stone, which not all the fury of the Mussulmans has been able to destroy. The relievos of several groups of allegorical figures, which still exist, though a little injured, are sufficient to show the great merit of the work.

In a corner of the walls of the ruined fortress there is a chapel, so small that it might more properly be called a niche, which, it is asserted, was used by the captive Nono as his sanctuary. The cross, made of broom, and tied with his hair, with which he converted the Tzar Mirian, and made so many proselytes, was carried into the mountains during the various invasions of the Mussulmans, and lastly to Moscow, where it was preserved until the Emperor Alexander I. caused it to be returned to the Georgians. There is also a monastery, the dome of which is perforated by cannon balls, and which the Persians, unable to take possession of it, vainly en-

at Teflis, are more authentic proofs of its earlier origin. It is probable, therefore, that the above prince was the first of the Tzars, who fixed his residence there, and who gave it its present name.

deavoured to destroy. This monastery, situated on the borders of the Kur, contains the mortal remains of the noblest families of the country, and was the place where the coronation of the Tzars of Georgia was performed. The solidity with which it was originally built, and its present ruined state, give one an idea of the dreadful revolutions which it has undergone. The population of this city amounts but to little more than 500 inhabitants, whose dwellings are scattered over a space of ground which, in former times, presented 80,000 combatants.

On the borders of the river, and on the northern part of the city, are still seen the remains of a fortress, the foundations of which were laid twenty centuries ago. According to the traditions current in the country, this fortress inclosed a palace, where a Georgian princess, subject to violent passions, often invited the young travellers to sojourn; and, after having gratified her illicit desires, caused them to be precipitated into the river from the top of the tower, hoping by this means to conceal her criminal excesses.

Within a few wersts of Meskhet there is a spring, which flows into the Kur, and which still preserves the name of Armasm Zkala, or the water of Armasm, an idol to whom in an-

cient times the princes immolated the first-born of their vassals. Idolatry having been substituted by the gospel, the idol met the same fate which in similar cases all idols meet. The Lesghis, who now saw this place abandoned, descended from the neighbouring mountains, and established here their ambushes to surprise the passengers, whether men or women, whom they carried away to sell in Natalia or in Egypt.

A chain of mountains extends from Meskhet to the province of Imeretia as far as the coasts of the Black Sea. In these mountains are seen the caverns which served the unhappy inhabitants of the town as places of concealment, when the barbarians in their invasions sought them as their prey. Indeed, the neighbourhood of Meskhet has not only been the theatre of atrocities in ancient times, but even in our own; and, until the arrival of General Yermolow, it was a place most dangerous for travellers.

The Kur is crossed by a bridge, which, according to the opinion of antiquarians, was built at the epoch when Pompey was in Georgia. It has two great circular towers at each extremity, which, in those times, must have been sufficient to defend that passage, and have given a greater importance to Meskhet. Two or three wersts beyond this city the heights are left to the right,

and the traveller enters the fertile soil of Teflis, where I saw the Georgian peasant ploughing the land with three or four couples of buffaloes, a method which must be attributed rather to the routine of these men than to the nature of the ground.

Five wersts before reaching Teflis, the city is seen spreading in the form of an amphitheatre, on the banks of the river Kur, at the extremity of a defile, formed by two bold ranges of mountains. On the left of the road, following the course of the river, is the place of quarantine, where I was detained but a short time, it being established rather for the merchants, whose goods demand continual precautions, than for the travelling officers.

## CHAP. XII.

Reception of the author by General Williaminoff—Baron Renemkamph—Father Philip—Colonel' Nicolas Yermoloff—Baron Ungern—Reception of the travellers by the Georgian Prince Chalakaïoff—Wine of Kahetia—Signchsk, chief town of Kahetia—Town of Tielaw, its grapes—Tchitchivaze a Georgian prince—The author's first interview with Klimonskoïe the colonel of his regiment—Description of Karakhach—Its barracks—Details respecting the Russian army—Its organization—Work performed by the soldiery—Horses of Kabarda and Karaway—Climate of Georgia—Numerous jackalls—Barracks of Karakhach attacked by a few Lesghi Tartars—Tiger killed in attacking a sentinel—Belohakan, a city of the Eingalos—Barbarous triumph evinced by an Eingalo interpreter—The knout—Duelling—Anecdotes—Sporting in Georgia—Amusements of the officers—Yakouwovitch, his gallantry—The chaplain—Bad surgeons—Encampment of Tzarskoïe—Colony of Germans established near Teflis.

ON the morning after my arrival at the place of quarantine I entered Teflis, and immediately proceeded to General Williaminoff's to deliver the despatches intrusted to me by the general-in-chief. I met the kindest reception from that general, who introduced me to the officers of

the staff, who had remained at Teflis, and especially to Baron Renemkamph, a young Livonian. This officer insisted on my accepting an apartment in his house, and presented me to the best societies of that city.

There were several European families residing here, most of whom belonged to the Russian employés; those whom I principally visited being the governor's, General Van Howen's, and that of the general of artillery General Ahuerdoff. With respect to the Georgian ladies, although I felt the greatest curiosity to be intimately acquainted with them, the attachment they still evince for their ancient Asiatic customs, and consequently their retired habits, rendered their society but little attractive.

The term of my residence at Teflis, however, did not so much depend on my will as on that of General Williaminoff's, who, far from showing any displeasure at my sojourn, gave me a general invitation to his table, and to his library, in which he spends a great part of his time. Under such favourable auspices Teflis soon became for me a second St. Petersburg; but which I was shortly to quit in order to join my regiment, that was stationed at Karakhach, one hundred and forty wersts to the east of Teflis. In this, however, I was prevented by an intermittent fever,

which never left me during the eighteen months I remained in this country, and which in five weeks reduced me to a mere skeleton. I am convinced that without the unremitting attendance of Dr. Privil, physician to the government, the cares of my excellent friend Renemkamph, who treated me as if I were his brother, and the medicines and attentions of the good Father Philip, the Catholic missionary residing at Teflis, of whom I shall speak more in the sequel, and who acted as my nurse, my fever would, doubtless, have terminated fatally. One day when it was at the highest, my negro, taking advantage of my situation, seized on my wardrobe and my purse, and proceeded, as I afterwards learned, in the company of an Armenian, to Persia, where, owing to the estimation in which they are held for certain offices in the harems, he was placed in that of the Shah; so that I was obliged to content myself with the services of two *Dennschchiks*<sup>1</sup> whom the colonel had just sent me from Karakhach, who could scarcely understand my bad Russian.

Two months having elapsed without any material improvement taking place in my health, and finding unavailing both the prescriptions of

<sup>1</sup> Military servants assigned to the officers in the Russian army, according to their rank.

my doctor and the incessant attentions of my numerous friends, I resolved to join my regiment. Accordingly I set off from Teflis on the 16th of December, in the company of Colonel Nicolas Yermolow, cousin-german of the general-in-chief, and who commanded the regiment of grenadiers of Grousia, or Georgia, whose cantonments were in the same direction as those of mine. I was also accompanied by a new comrade of mine, Baron Ungern, lately arrived from Europe, who was proceeding to join our regiment in the rank of captain, and by several other officers, all on horseback, among whom was my friend Renemkamph, who rode some distance with us.

Our road, though the shortest from Teflis to our place of destination, was by no means the best, and as in this season, even in this mild climate, the country assumes the aspect of winter, (which, however, only lasts in Georgia from December till the latter end of January,) it did not much attract my attention. After three hours' ride we arrived at the tower of Prince Chalakaïoff, a young Georgian, who, being warned of our arrival, had made some preparations for our reception.

The prince, in his Georgian costume, and surrounded by attendants bearing torches, came out to meet us, and conducted us to a spacious



apartment of an almost oval form, splendidly illuminated, around the walls of which was a wide continued bench, covered with beautiful tapestry, with cushions at the back, richly laced and embroidered, and which was to serve us both as seats and beds. The ladies and women of the tower, in our passage to this apartment, peeped, like the nuns in our convents, through the blinds, and chinks of the windows and doors; so that the prince was the only one who did the honours of the house, though in a manner which in Georgia would be considered rather as the reception from a friend than from a mere acquaintance.

As soon as we sat down we were all furnished with long pipes, according to the Russian and Georgian custom, whilst our entertainer caused a long table to be placed before us, and ordered supper to be brought, which consisted of several dishes of meat or poultry, boiled together with rice and dried fruits, with plenty of sugar, or honey, and saffron; a medley which for a European was the most strange they could present. With respect to the plate service, &c., all was in the European manner; but as the noblemen of this country have no head servant, or steward, the prince was obliged to be constantly supplying the deficiencies and neglects of his awkward

attendants; nor was he able to partake of the repast tranquilly until towards its conclusion, when he took his seat among us to drink, and served us the excellent wine of Kahetia with that frugality by which these people are distinguished. We drank from the Georgian cup, which is a horn of a touri' highly polished, and mounted in silver or gold, and which one is obliged to hold in the hand, and drink continually, since it cannot be laid down until it is perfectly empty, the etiquette of this country besides requiring, that the guest should pledge his host every time he drinks.

The wine of Kahetia resembles in taste, colour, and mild effects, that of La Mancha, and especially that of Valdepeñas, which is so much in vogue at Madrid. As this wine is transported in Georgia, as in Spain, in skins, its flavour is a little spoiled; but, nevertheless, it compensated for the strange dishes with which we had been regaled, and kept up the hilarity of the company till midnight, when the table was removed, and

The touri or turi is a quadruped resembling (although smaller) the stag, which is found about the mountains of the Caucasus, and the river Kuban. Its horns are however considerably larger than the stag's, in proportion to its size, and it is asserted by the people here, that it has greater strength in them than the strongest bull.

the prince withdrew, and locked us in the saloon, where, dressed as we were, we reclined on the cushions, and resigned ourselves to sleep.

At dawn of the following day our host entered our room, and informed us that the carriage and horses of our party were ready; we took our leave of him, and pursued our way by a bad road, across glens and torrent-beds. An hour after we arrived at Zahoredsky, where the battalions of grenadiers of Georgia are encamped, and the situation of which is extremely well adapted to found a city.

The house of the colonel is built on an excellent plan, not only to afford entertainment to the officers of the regiment, but for the hospitality which he so prodigally lavishes on his friends, and where he invited my new comrade and myself to spend a day. Among his officers the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, the Georgian Prince Abhazoff, is distinguished for his personal qualities and military merit; even at the age of fifteen he was decorated with the Russian order of St. George, a military decoration which in the most gallant regiment is scarcely possessed by four individuals.

Colonel Yermolow, and several other officers, accompanied us as far as the meadows and stables belonging to the trains of the regiment,

and soon after we arrived at the post-house of Manaba, which is fifty-four wersts from Teflis, and where we spent the night. Most of these houses, which are constructed of osiers and covered with clay, have only the necessary partitions for the reception of the officers, travellers, Cossacks, and horses, that may not chance to arrive.

At day-break we proceeded on our journey, followed by two Cossacks, who were our escort. The morning was cold, and the frost during the night had hardened the little snow that lay on the fields, where we occasionally saw groups of sportsmen. At ten o'clock in the morning we arrived at Dampal, where we reposed ourselves awhile, and then proceeded to Signachsk, which is thirty-five wersts from Manaba. The road between these two towns is tolerably good, except just before entering the latter, which, being situated on a hill, offers a steep ascent. The fields, however, are well cultivated, and many of the country houses and farms, which are seen scattered here and there, must present in summer, by their picturesque situation, delightful prospects.

Signachsk, which in the insurrection of 1812 suffered dreadful depredations, is the capital of the province of Kahetia, and is considered an important point on account of its proximity to

the Lesghi Tartars, who inhabit the country on the opposite bank of the river Alazann. It has a population of about three thousand inhabitants, who are protected by a garrison more or less numerous, according to the peaceable or hostile conduct observed by their neighbours. The elevation on which Signachsk stands forms a part of a chain of mountains, which on one side extends towards Tielaw, the second city of Khetia; and on the other towards Tzarskoïe, a mountainous district, which runs parallel to the Caucasus, from which it is separated by extensive plains, fifteen and twenty wersts wide, covered with forests watered by the Alazann, which empties itself into the Koura, at one hundred and fifty wersts from Signachsk to the southern extremity of the province.

Tielaw, far wealthier than the capital on account of its vineyards, forms with the latter a barrier against the Lesghis. The richest lands in that district belong to Tchitchivaze, a Georgian prince, educated in Europe, who, though serving in our regiment with the rank of colonel, had succeeded, without neglecting his military duties, in improving his valuable inheritance in such a manner that few Georgian nobles can cope with him in wealth. The grapes of Tielaw are larger, more succulent and delicate,

than those gathered on the coast of Malaga. There is also throughout this province a great abundance of wild grapes, which, though they by no means bear a comparison with the others, are nevertheless very good. The wine of Kahetia, therefore, is so plentiful, especially as it is not at all exported from Georgia, that the daily consumption at Teflis, is from two to four bottles per person.

Mr. Makachew, the commandant-at-arms of Signachsk, to whom we addressed ourselves to obtain quarters for the night, invited us to pass it at his house, from the gallery of which we had a view of the Caucasus, the most magnificent I ever beheld. The atmosphere of Georgia, at all times so pure, was on this night doubly so, on account of the north wind which prevails during the winter season, and together with the brightness of the moon, whose rays illuminated the snowy summits of that varied chain of mountains, produced the most picturesque and brilliant effect, surpassing all I have ever seen both in the Alps and the Pyrenees.

" On the following morning we set off on our journey in a carriage belonging to our colonel, which was returning empty to the Karakhach, and to the use of which we were entitled. From

Signachsk the descent is so precipitous, that we were obliged to alight, and walk for nearly five wersts, in the space of which we met, from distance to distance, water-mills, which, though very imperfect in their construction, furnish sufficient flour for the garrison and resident Europeans,<sup>1</sup> except in times of extraordinary drought.

Having descended the heights of Signachsk, we proceeded through fertile and beautiful valleys, which extend along the borders of the river Alazann to beyond Karakhach. The twenty-seven wersts between Signachsk and this place are accounted very dangerous, owing to the proximity of the Lesghis, who, though acknowledging the Russian government, occasionally commit acts of depredation, which can only be repressed by an armed force, and are in the habit of lying in ambush to surprise travellers, and especially the officers, for whose ransom they demand large sums. As the Russian etiquette requires that when an officer arrives at an encampment or at a garrison he should present himself in full uniform, and as moreover we were to alight at our colonel's quarters, we travelled from

<sup>1</sup> The Asiatics do not make use of mills to grind the rye of which their bread is made.

Signachsk as if we were going to the parade; so that our plumes and uniforms were doubly attractive for the 'mountaineers, had any been on the alert, particularly as we proceeded without an escort, depending wholly upon our arms.

At about half way of our road, we saw two men on horseback, who proved to be the principal doctor of our regiment and his servant, and who, like ourselves, were going to Karakhach. On seeing the familiarity with which he accosted us, which was rather the effect of the wine of Kahctia than his want of good breeding, I immediately felt a presentiment that he would one way or another put an end to my fever. The Prince Tchitchivaze, whose acquaintance I had made at Teflis, was the only officer of our regiment whom I knew, and he was then absent from the camp; neither was my comrade better known among them. But our doctor, whose liberality the generous liquor seemed greatly to excite, offered us not only his own house, but even those of which he could not dispose, though he entirely forgot to offer us the hospital.

Immediately on our arrival we presented ourselves to our chief, Colonel Klimonskoie, who, though he had been an aid-de-camp of the Grand Duke Constantine during the campaigns



of 1813 and 1814, did not understand a single word of any other language than that he had learned from his nurse ; a circumstance not very common in Russia among the class to which he belonged, and which naturally confined our conversation to a few words ; but his good humour compensated for this inconvenience, which was shared by another chief, Mr. Soltikoff, who was my colleague, and by one or two more officers. This inspired me with the hope that I should make a greater progress in the Russian language than I had hitherto done, the knowledge of it being absolutely necessary to enable me to fulfil my duties under the banners I served ; but notwithstanding my good will, the deplorable state of my health prevented me from applying myself closely to this study.

Before proceeding further in my narrative, I shall here present a slight sketch of the occupations, duties, and inconveniences, of the life of a Russian officer in cantonments.

Karakhach derives its name from an ancient city, the ruins of which are still extant. The barracks of the six campaign squadrons, of which all the cavalry regiments in Russia are composed, formed of themselves a kind of military city. They are built in a line in three divisions, each of which contains two squadrons,

and are situated opposite to the river Alazann, and to the mountains, forming the front of the building. The stables, which are parallel with the barracks, and at a distance of one hundred paces from them, observe the same order of distribution, and form the back. In the space that intervenes between these two buildings are the houses of the officers, similarly distributed, and all regularly built of wood; whilst on the left of this line are the magazines and workshops of the regiment, the chapel, and the house of the chaplain, as well as the hospital, and kitchens of the squadrons.

The houses of the officers were built by the soldiers for a slight gratification, and without the former incurring further expense than the purchase of the iron materials; such as nails, hinges, &c. necessary for their construction; so that an officer becomes proprietor and citizen of Karak hach at very little cost.

The colonel of a regiment in Russia is bound, both morning and evening, to keep open table for all his officers, pay the music of the regiment, whether of infantry or cavalry, defray all the expenses of the hospital of his cantonment, and take charge of the handiwork of every article for the complete equipment of his regiment; so that the Emperor, or, in other words,

the crown, furnishes each regiment with only the pay, arms, leathers, cloths, copper and iron, and a certain sum for the remount of the cavalry. Thus, it is calculated, in Russia, and especially in Georgia, that an infantry soldier completely equipped for war, his arms excepted, costs the government twenty-five roubles (assignats), which are equivalent to one pound sterling.

With respect to the colonel's table, whether he be absent or not, it is always provided at his house, either with music or without, according to the pleasure of him who presides, who is the officer highest in rank. If a stranger arrive, he is always hospitably received, and placed beside the president, provided only that he be introduced by one of the officers.

On the other hand the colonel, to be able to meet the great expenses which he incurs in thus supporting the regiment, has the right of employing, in time of peace, the third part of his troops for his own benefit, during certain months in the year, when the military instructions are suspended. The soldiers then become masons, carpenters, smiths, &c. or engaged in whatever occupation they may be hired for; so that as they are furnished by the colonel with suitable dresses, that their uniforms may not suffer

during the time they are thus employed, they cannot be recognised as soldiers except by their mustachios. Besides, there are always a certain number of them employed in the workshops belonging to the regiment in every description of trade; consequently every thing that can possibly be wanted in the corps is made by the soldiers.

It is by this kind of administration that Russia is enabled to maintain the immense army it keeps at present on foot, and which, according to the statement circulated among the various divisions of the army at the time of my serving in it, amounted to 600,000 infantry, 100,000 cavalry, twenty-six regiments of artillery, thirty-eight squadrons of the same, and twelve squadrons of sappers,<sup>1</sup> exclusive of the passive regiments, or in garrison, the Cossacks, and a multitude of other armed corps of the empire.

The colonel of a regiment is answerable to the Emperor for the equipment, good health, and discipline, of the troops under his orders; and as Alexander was every year in the habit

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Alexander was the first who formed a body of mounted sappers. He commenced by introducing them in the guards, and finding their great utility, ultimately established them in all the armies of the empire.

of surprising in their camps of instruction some of the divisions of his army, where he would make his appearance accompanied by only one of his aid-de-camps, no matter how far they might be from the capital, no chief ever dared to neglect the most trifling of his duties. To this cause the flourishing state of his armies may be attributed. It is impossible to form a correct idea of the perfection at which they have arrived, unless by entering into details on their organization, which my limits do not permit. Suffice it to say, that the Russian troops of the present day have adopted all that is worthy of imitation both in the French school, and in the interior regulations of the English army and hospitals.

At the head-quarters of every division of the army there is a college, supported by all its regiments, where youths of distinction, who afterwards serve as officers, receive a military education, assisting at the parade as private soldiers, with their respective battalions, when these are in the same cantonments. There is another

In Russia there are no cadets, consequently those youths must first serve as privates, and go through all the subaltern gradations before ascending to officers. An exception is made in favor of the Emperor's pages, who, as in other countries, leave the palace for the army in the rank of officers.

institution for a different class of youths, that is, for orphans and foundlings whom the government takes under its protection, educates at its own expense, and afterwards generally destines to the topographical labours of the staff.

Russia has two armies, one active and the other passive; the former for the field, and the latter for garrison. Those officers possessing but little military merit, and those who marry, especially such as unite themselves with persons beneath them in rank, are usually employed in the latter service. It is, therefore, very rare to meet with married officers on active service.

When an officer arrives at his cantonments, he has workmen of all trades at his disposal, until all his wants are supplied. Thus a droschki, which is the vehicle most in use among the Russians, and absolutely necessary for every chief, costs him but a trifle, when he furnishes the workmen with materials. Besides, the regiment assigns him two or three dennschtchiks, whom they select for the service of officers from among those privates who are not acquainted with any trade, but who are sufficient for his service.

With all these resources, to which must be added the rations for himself, servants, and horses, an officer may live respectably, particu-

larly if, as is the case in Georgia, he receive the pay given to troops on active service, which is double that of those in garrison, or in passive service. Still, even in this case, it offers no means for economy, as it is smaller than that given in any other European country to officers of the same rank.

Each regiment of cavalry is composed of seven squadrons, six in active service and the seventh in depot, or in other words, of twelve active companies, and two more of conscripts drilling at the depot. These six squadrons form three divisions, each of which is under the orders of one of the three chiefs, and form a total of from nine hundred to one thousand horse. During their march they are never burdensome to the peasantry, as the regiments are furnished with tents, and with the means of transporting their luggage.

Our remount was made in Kabarda, a country in which the most useful horses known throughout the empire are bred. They unite beauty with strength, and are so numerous that three or four thousand can yearly be purchased for the army in the markets of Teflis, out of fourteen or fifteen thousand brought there for sale.

This plentiful supply on one hand, and the great poverty of the Kabardines on the other,

enable the officers to purchase horses for the twentieth part of what a horse of equal merit would cost in the cheapest market in Germany. The horses which are bred at Karaway, a province belonging to Russia on the borders of Persia, are more delicately shaped and fetch a higher price than those of Kabarda; but they are not able to resist so much fatigue as the former. They have, however, all the beauty and fire of the old Andalusian race; and like these have many of the good qualities of the Arabian horses.

The crown allows the colonel of a regiment one hundred and twenty roubles per horse, a sum which is certainly beneath the value of one, especially in the interior provinces of the empire. At Kabarda, however, the finest horse for a squadron may be had for twenty or thirty roubles above the sum granted by the crown; but the necessity of adhering to colour in the divisions, that is to say, of procuring horses of only three distinct colours, and the difficulty of inducing those uncivilized tribes to attend to the breed of horses, naturally exercise an influence over their price. If the government should one day succeed in organizing the country of the Kabardines, and of the Tcherkesses, the various races might then be crossed with those of the



Karaway, and propagated on the borders of the Terak, by which means the same advantages might be derived as in Andalusia with the horses bred at the foot of the mountains from Grenada to Ubèda, the only race in Spain which unites beauty with strength.

The climate of Karakhach is not so mild as that of Teflis, owing to the peculiar situation of the former between the heights of Signachsk and the chain of the Caucasus, which prolong the winter in these plains a month later than in the rest of the country.

Our colonel, who was a true officer of the spur, and zealous for the improvement of his corps, always presided at our occupations and amusements, which in the morning consisted of exercises on horseback or on foot, by companies or in the line, of the display of horsemanship by the officers, sergeants, and corporals, and of the exercise of arms. The afternoon was spent in visiting the stables and admiring the good qualities of some of the horses, who were trained to all kinds of privations, and to eat whilst the report of the pistol sounded in their ears. Our veterans, the greatest part of whom were inured to the climate, and who were the only cavalry of the line in the army of Georgia, had rendered distinguished services in the war

against the Persians. On the peace with this power being concluded, they were stationed in their present cantonments, as an advanced post. Their proximity to the Lesghis kept them continually on the alert, and rendered this service, though useful to the soldiers, by no means pleasant.

At night the posts around our encampment were doubled, the *qui vive* of the sentries confounding itself with the sharp howlings of the tchacals, which are here so numerous that droves of them advanced towards our encampment to seize on our poultry as soon as it grew dark.

The river Alazann, which is within six or seven wersts of Karakhach is fordable at various times in the year, a circumstance which rendered the exterior service of our camp extremely complicated on dark nights, as the plain extending to the river is covered with thick forests.

A few weeks before my arrival, and on one of these dark nights, some twenty Lesghis descended from the mountains, and crossing the Alazann, succeeded in silently making their way on foot through the cordon formed by the sentries. On arriving at the door of one of the three barracks, they poniarded the sentry sta-

tioned there before he had time to give the alarm, and penetrating with the same audacity into the interior of the barrack, where the soldiers were asleep, distributed themselves right and left, and plunged their poniards into the first dragoons they met, till the groans and cries of the dying and wounded awakening their comrades, the confusion became general, especially as the Lesghis, who could recognise each other by their beards, had extinguished the lights and continued their horrible massacre on the defenceless soldiers, who endeavoured to gain the door and seize their arms. Patroles having at length arrived with lights, the Lesghis sought to cut their way through them; but seeing the impracticability of this, some of them stabbed themselves on the spot, and the rest surrendered, testifying their joy at the sight of the bleeding corpses of Christians by whom they were surrounded. The fanaticism they evinced when they underwent the punishment due to their atrocious deeds, proved that their poniards had been directed by their barbarous priests.

This lesson, which might have been still more fatal had the Lesghis been more numerous, and less rash by neglecting to seize on the arms, which are symmetrically placed near the entrance, cost the regiment more than sixty men

killed or dangerously wounded ; but it produced the extraordinary vigilance which was observable at the time of my arrival at the cantonment, and which one night occasioned the death of a new enemy. A sentry seeing something gently approaching towards him, challenged the object, and observing that it continued advancing without vouchsafing him an answer, he immediately fired and effectually arrested its progress. When the patrol repaired to the spot they found that the intruder was a tiger, then in its last agonies.

Opposite to our encampment, on the other side of the Alazann, and at a distance of eighteen or twenty wersts, is the city of Belohakan situated at the foot of the Caucasus, and inhabited by the Eingalos, a people whom the Lesghis keep in the most horrible state of slavery, and who formerly belonged to Georgia ; but who being too industrious, and attached to their native soil, would never abandon it, during the different revolutions which that country has undergone, and became subject to their present masters. That city carries on a great trade with Teflis, principally in bourkas, which are manufactured there ; and as the traders pass through Karakhach, our colonel, who was the commandant of this district, and from whom

they must obtain a passport for Georgia, was obliged to have near him an Eingalo, who understood the Russian language, and served as interpreter. This man had become so familiarized with the officers, that the colonel allowed him to sit at our table. One day we remarked that the interpreter was absent, a circumstance which seldom occurred ; but, as we were finishing our dessert, he entered the dining-room in high spirits, bringing under his arm a bundle, carefully tied, which, he said, contained a fine water melon for our dessert. This fruit, in the middle of December, is considered a great delicacy, and we all expressed a wish that he should produce it, when he immediately untied the bundle, and, to our great horror, we beheld the head of a Lesghi, whom he had killed in fight on the other side of the Alazann during a sporting expedition, roll on the table. Disgusted at this action, which among these barbarous mountaineers would pass as an excellent joke, we all rose from table, and retired to another apartment, whilst the Eingalo sat down to dinner, and, at every mouthful he took, amused himself with turning the head, which he kept close to his plate, first one way and then another.

Much is said in Europe of the knout, which, it is asserted, a Russian chief frequently applies

to his officers. I shall not attempt here to investigate the origin of this opinion, which is often supported with open malice, but merely confine myself to state a fact among the many which every day occur.

Colonel Klimonskoï, being displeased with a certain officer of our corps, struck him in the presence of several of his comrades. The outraged officer withdrew; and on the following morning the colonel, seeing him enter the breakfast-room, advanced towards him, and, taking him aside, manifested a wish to give him the satisfaction due to a comrade. The officer, whose character was not of the firmest, understood these words, and immediately declared himself satisfied. All his comrades, who had hitherto maintained that reserve which the affair required, freely gave their opinion; and from that moment the officer was so greatly despised by all, that he could no longer appear at the same table, and was obliged to remain in his own apartment under the pretext of illness, until the general-in-chief granted the petition which this unfortunate young man addressed to him, for permission to retire from the service, under the usual plea of ill health.

Some time after this an occurrence similar to the above took place between two officers of

different ranks. The inferior officer demanded a satisfaction ; blood was spilt ; the affront was washed away ; and the chief and the subordinate became good friends. Indeed, the tolerance with which duelling is looked upon in a nation wholly military, is in itself a guarantee to officers of an inferior rank to be respected by their superiors, since these cannot offer them an affront with impunity. Often, however, the opinions on this subject, among this class of people in Russia, are even chivalrous.

There was in my regiment an officer whose name was Yakouwovitch,<sup>1</sup> and who, while he was serving in one of the regiments of the guards at St. Petersburg in the year 1816 or 1817, was invited by one of his friends to act as his second in a duel, in which the former fell, as it is thought, by unfair means. Yakouwovitch, who felt bound to avenge the death of his friend, challenged the assassin, who, to avoid this second affair, contrived a court intrigue, by which Yakouwovitch was immediately dismissed from the guards, and sent, without promotion, to a regiment in Georgia, accompanied by a courier. On his arrival at Moscow he wrote to his adver-

<sup>1</sup> The name of this officer has been mentioned in the public papers as being one of the officers condemned in Russia, and implicated in the late suppressed conspiracy.

sary, and also to this man's second, again demanding a satisfaction. The former paid no attention to this fresh challenge ; but the latter, struck with this manly conduct, accepted the challenge, though the duel was to be fought on the frontiers of Persia. The young Grivaïedoff, who thus gallantly came forward, was a counsellor of state, and held a post in the foreign office. To the no small astonishment of the ministry, he asked to be employed in the Persian legation ; but having obtained the situation of secretary to it, immediately set off for his place of destination, informing Yakouwovitch, whom he believed to be at Teflis, of his journey, and who received his letter at Karakhach. Having asked the necessary permission, the latter repaired to that city, where he met his opponent, and where they fought with pistols, as is customary ; but on the seconds having interfered after the first firing, the affair did not terminate so fatally as was feared from the nature of the affront. Yakouwovitch returned to his post at Karakhach, and Grivaïedoff, wounded, continued his journey to Tauris, whilst the aggressor remained tranquil at St. Petersburg.

Hunting was at Karakhach the amusement of most of the officers on festival days ; but we were



obliged to take certain precautions that we might not be hunted instead of hunting. All kinds of game were so abundant in these environs, (where wild goats are still very numerous), that the six hunters, whom the colonel kept constantly employed in this occupation, furnished so much game to the cantonment, that frequently no other meats were provided than those absolutely required for the service of the hospital.

The natural attachment of my comrades to the customs of their country induced them to keep the carnival in the fashion of Russia, though of course on a very small scale. Thus, during the short time that the temperature allowed of this kind of amusement, we had Russian mountains, skating, and courses in sledges. In the evening we took tea, and punch was freely served, with pipes of Turkish tobacco, whilst chess and cards, enlivened by the music of the regiment, formed the usual diversion of the winter evenings. The wife of the chaplain of our regiment was the only lady at Karakhach; but the retirement in which she lived deprived us of her company. Her husband, however, who was still young, and whose character and conduct rendered him an object of general esteem, was the ornament of our parties; a circumstance which was the

more highly valued by us, as it is by no means common among the military Russian clergymen. But, indeed, I have known few men more worthy of the respect and friendship which we all, without distinction of religion, felt for him, his tolerance being not the least of his virtues.

Yakouwovitch, whose greatest pleasure was to attend on the sick soldiers at the hospital, and act as their principal nurse, was the first who made me remark the religious conduct of this clergyman, who seldom left the pillow of the dying soldiers. Since that time I felt for him that kind of attachment which is seldom effaced from the memory when it originates in such places.

I cannot say as much of the doctor, who, without the unremitting cares and attendance of the officers on their sick soldiers, would, after two autumns, have made of Karakhach a vast cemetery. Indeed, the want of good doctors is very much felt in the army of the Caucasus; and this can be attributed only to the negligence of the government at St. Petersburg; a negligence which is the more blamable, as in this part of the empire the soldiers are very subject to sickness. Our corps, like all the others in Russia, furnished men every year to the imperial guard,

who were replaced by the conscripts, who are periodically raised throughout the empire. But such was the gross ignorance of the three doctors intrusted with the care of our hospital, (which by the disinterestedness of the colonel and the affection of the officers for the soldiers, might in every respect serve as a model to any in Russia,) that when they were allowed to act according to their own judgment, three parts of those conscripts fell victims to the fevers prevalent in the country.

Thus the officers and soldiers of the regiment stationed at Karakhach spent most of the time which was not employed in their military duties in acts of friendship and benevolence; constantly struggling with assassins, and surrounded with wild beasts, serpents, scorpions, and swarms of insects, by which we were tormented in our beds, and which disappeared only during the winter season; our knowledge of the events that were passing in the world being confined to the slight information contained in the prikaz, which was every week sent from St. Petersburg, and which arrived with more or less regularity, according to the practicability of the passage of couriers through the chain of the mountains.

In the midst of this kind of exile, supportable

only because with a military philosophy we all endeavoured to overcome the crosses and ennui incident to this kind of life, I received, towards the latter end of February, 1820, the first intelligence from my exiled friends. The circumstance of its probably being the first Spanish letter which has ever been received at the Caucasus, and the person by whom it was written, appear to me worthy of mention here.<sup>1</sup>

The spring beginning now to be felt at Karakhach, the regiment prepared to leave this part of the country, to establish in the month of May their summer encampment at Tzarskoïe, which is situated on the high lands forming a continuation of the Signachsk hills, and which is twelve wersts distant from Karakhach. This place is well provided with good water, and considered the most salubrious in the environs.

The arrival of General Yermolow at Teflis, together with the inactivity in which the regiment was likely to remain at Tzarskoïe, and my desire to render myself useful during the summer, induced me to ask permission from the general-in-chief to proceed to the capital. Having obtained it, I set off from Karakhach on the 20th of March, accompanied by some officers of the regiment, who were also proceed-

<sup>1</sup> See note D.

ing to the capital. On our second day's journey we passed through the German colonies, which are within five wersts of the capital. These colonists, who are natives of Wirtemburgh, were sent into Georgia through the influence of the Empress Mother, who wished to relieve the misery of the indigent class of her native country. Their proximity to Teflis enables them to furnish the market with butter, hams, potatoes, and other vegetables which were before unknown to the Georgians. The houses built for them by the government are well adapted to the climate ; whilst the protection which they meet, both from the authorities and from those Germans employed in the country, contribute much to their prosperity.

We arrived early on the 5th of April at Teflis, where my friend the Baron Renempkamph again invited me to take up my quarters at his house. Having immediately presented myself to General Yermolow, and expressed a wish of rendering myself useful during the summer out of my regiment, studiously concealing from him the real state of my health, which was still in a most deplorable state, I obtained the only favour he had in his power to grant, namely, my remaining at Teflis near his person until an opportunity should offer.

Before proceeding further in my narrative, I beg to be allowed to offer a slight retrospective sketch of the revolutions which Georgia has undergone till its incorporation with the Russian empire, and the advantages derived by the Georgians from this important event.

## CHAP. XIII.

Historical and topographical sketch of Georgia—The Princess Tamar—Conquest by Dehennghis Khan—The Tzars of Georgia—Division into petty kingdoms—The Georgians seek the protection of Russia—The Tzar Heraclius—Invasion by the Persians under Aga Mehemet—Zouboff attacks Daghestan—Cruel death of Charokh, an Asiatic prince—Assassination of Melomet Shah—Sadek Khan—Baba Khan mounts the Persian throne as Petah-Ali-Shah—Abdication of Heraclius, Tzar of Georgia—His son George resigns his dominions to the Russians—General Tchitchianow—Desperate act of the Georgian Tzarina—The Georgians profess the Greek creed—Armenian portion of the population—Capuchin missionaries—Temples of the idolaters—Administration of Yermolow—The Tartar principalities in allegiance to Russia—Nougha—Costume of the inhabitants of Shirvan, and the tributaries to Russia—Commercial spirit of the Armenians—Warlike disposition of the Georgians—The Tartars described—Consolidation of the government.

GEORGIA, called by the Russians Grousia, comprises the provinces of Kahetia or Kahet (which was formerly called Albania), Imeretia (originally Iberia), Kartalinia, and Minngrelia, (anciently Colchida).

The revolutions which this country suffered in ancient times, and which the monuments, medals, and other antiquities still found here, serve to commemorate, are too generally known to require any further mention. A continual prey to their invading neighbours, these provinces became the theatre of still more bloody scenes after the introduction of Christianity, and were unable to obtain their complete independence until the reign of the first Tamar, a princess who flourished towards the latter end of the eleventh century, and who conquered both the Turks and the Persians, whose oppressive yoke had hitherto so heavily weighed on her country.

This princess, who is as celebrated in Georgia as Catherine II. in Russia, married a Russian prince of the family of Bogolubsky, and at her death was succeeded by her daughter; who, less fortunate than her mother, was overcome by the renowned Dchennghis Khan, who, assisted by Tamerlan, invaded Georgia for the purpose of establishing the Koran. The great source of evil to that country, however, arose from the frequent divisions of the Georgian princes themselves, who, by erecting their provinces into independent kingdoms, exposed their country still more to the incursions of the Persians. Alexander I. Tzar of Georgia, and who reigned



at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was one of the first to set the example, by bequeathing separate provinces to each of his sons ; who thereby became independent kings. This accounts also for the great number of princes that are found among the Georgian nobility.

Some years after that impolitic division, the Turks, in their contentions with the Persians, urged the tribes of the Caucasus, and especially the Lesghis, who professed the same religion as themselves, to lay waste that part of Georgia adjoining Persia, that they might form a barrier by rendering it a desert. Alexander, Tzar of Kahetia, was then obliged to have recourse to Russia, and, in 1586, sent an ambassador to Fëdor I. Tzar of Muscovy, offering submission, and requesting that some fortresses might be built on the Terak for his defence. From that time the protection of Russia has been sought by most of the Georgian princes, who seldom failed to obtain it.

When Peter I. ascended the throne of Russia, he began his celebrated reign by taking a more active part in the affairs of Georgia. Derbend was occupied by his troops, and several alterations arose between him and the Persians respecting the Daghestan, which were more or less energetically supported, according as the

court of Russia felt interested in the welfare of that part of Asia. At length, some years after the death of that Emperor, the affairs of Persia became so involved, and weighed so heavily on Georgia, that they led to the final incorporation of those provinces with the Russian empire. The following are the details.

Aga Mehemet, son of a governor of one of the provinces of Persia, was, by order of Adel Shah, towards the middle of the last century, made a eunuch at the age of twelve, and confined in a prison of Shiras, where he was kept for nearly thirty years. This man, naturally ambitious and intriguing, though entirely devoid of talents, succeeded in rendering himself master of the crown, as much by the enormous sums he distributed, to foment the disunion which had taken place among the descendants of Kerin, as by the assistance he met from a powerful party. Scarcely had the usurper ascended the throne, than he abandoned himself to every excess of cruelty that the most atrocious tyranny could devise. The details of his barbarities are too disgusting to be mentioned here, and drew upon him the well-merited appellation of tyrant, even from the wretched slaves over whom he swayed.

Thirsting for new victims, he cast his eyes on

Georgia, where at that time reigned the Tzar Heraclius, who had just concluded a treaty with the Empress Catherine II. with the view of checking any encroachments on the part of Persia. Mehemet assembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched upon Erivan, the residence of a Khan, who had shaken off the yoke of Persia, and who was an ally of the Tzar Heraclius, where he expected to find the presumptive heir of Georgia. Having fought a battle before Erivan, in which he defeated his enemies, he left there some troops for the blockade of the fortress, and continued his triumphant march towards Gangea, now called Elizabethpol; after which he directed his course towards Teflis, from which he was removed only three days' journey.

The Tzar Heraclius, believing that this capital would be protected by the troops he had placed under the command of his eldest son, and surprised by the sudden appearance of Aga Mehemet, fled into the province of Kahetia, followed by the whole of the nobility and most of the inhabitants of Teflis, who carried away with them every thing of value. Mehemet entered Teflis on the 18th of October, 1795, without the least opposition, gave it up to pillage, and put to the sword, or carried into slavery, all who had remained behind.

The Khan of Erivan, intimidated by Mehemet's successes, again placed himself under his yoke; and the son of Heraclius, allowing his troops to disperse at this critical moment, dishonoured himself so far as to acknowledge as sovereign, in his own and his father's name, the atrocious tyrant who had invaded his country; agreeing, moreover, to pay to him the annual tribute paid by Georgia in former times. This submission on the part of this prince was the more disgraceful, as he was then in the vigour of his age, and at the head of all the forces of Georgia.

Satisfied with this rapid incursion, Mchemet licensed his troops, and proceeded to the court of Teheran, to spend the winter there. But on the Russian cabinet learning this invasion, orders were issued to General Zouboff to march forward with his army, which, after ten days' bombardment, entered Derbend, and afterwards proceeded towards the Daghestan, along the borders of the Caspian Sea. These troops continued their operations on that side, and took Bakou and Chamakia; but as they approached the frontiers of Persia, they received, in December of the same year, the news of the death of Catherine, and orders to retrograde.

Mehemet, instead of coming out to meet the Russians, directed his course towards Khorazan,

on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, between Persia and Turcomania, with the object of dethroning Charokh, the only prince in Asia who studied the happiness of his subjects, and preserved tranquillity in his states. Charokh sent his son to the mountains with his treasures, and seeing how impossible it was for him to oppose any resistance, went alone to meet the Shah, and proposed to him the most advantageous conditions to preserve peace. The tyrant, however, would not listen to them; and, not satisfied with depriving him of his province, insisted on knowing the place where his son had fled with the treasures, which he claimed as belonging to him by right, alleging that his predecessor Nadir Shah had taken them there from India. Charokh refusing to accede to this, the tyrant had recourse to the most cruel torments, until that unhappy prince, vanquished by his sufferings, disclosed, a few hours before expiring, the place where his son and his treasures were.

After a series of disasters, during which the Persians carried off from Teflis more than 12,000 unhappy Georgians, who dragged on a wretched existence in slavery, the salvation of Georgia depended on its becoming a part of the Russian empire, from whose monarchs they had incessantly experienced the most marked favours and

protection, and with whom they were besides linked by the same religion, and a detestation for the power of the Mussulmans.

In the month of March, 1797, Mehemet, enriched by his spoils, prepared for a second invasion of Georgia, and traversed the province of Shirvan, at the head of 60,000 men; but the death of tyrants awaited him, and he was assassinated during the night in his own tent by Sadek Khan, one of his chief officers, when the army was on the frontiers of Georgia. This officer seized on the treasures of the Shah, and took the Firman, and the seal that the tyrant, like all the princes of Asia, carried fastened to his wrist by a bracelet, and causing 10,000 men of his faction to follow him, proceeded to the court of Teheran, with the view of drawing to his party the discontented, and placing himself on the throne of the usurper.

Four claimants to the crown suddenly presented themselves, among whom Hadgi Ibrahim, by dint of promises and gifts, succeeded in inducing the new usurper to renounce all his designs, and declare himself in favour of Baba Khan, nephew of the tyrant Mehemet, who actually mounted the throne, in 1799, under the name of Fetah-Ali-Shah. It was at this epoch that his favourite, Kouli-Khan, distinguished himself.

After a reign of fifty-two years the Tzar Heraclius abdicated in favour of his son George, and placed his kingdom under the protection of Russia. The new Prince, following in the steps of his predecessors, concluded the work to which he was urged by the deplorable circumstances of his country, and bequeathed, in 1800, his states to the Emperor Paul I. The Russian troops then advanced from the Terak to Teflis. The policy of the Russians, doubtless, induced them to intrust the command of this army to General Tchitchianow, a Georgian prince, related to the last Tzar, who has left, among his countrymen and the Russians, an honourable memory of the superior talents, both military and political, by which he was distinguished. This general not only skreened his country from foreign invasion, but punished the Persians for the numberless atrocities they had committed in Georgia, and ended his days with the satisfaction of knowing, that he had dried the tears of so many families who had hitherto been so cruelly oppressed by the Mahometans. From the moment that this illustrious general was placed at the head of the government, Alexander, brother to the Tzar George, displeased with the political change which had taken place in Georgia, endeavoured to excite several provinces

to rebellion ; but, finding his efforts fruitless, he took refuge in Persia, where he still resides, and is made the instrument for disturbing the peace of his native country.

These events occasioned the removal of George's Tzarine to Moscow, by orders of the Russian government. It is a well-known fact, that this princess, when she received orders to depart, was so greatly incensed, not only against the authors of those orders, but against the messenger himself, General Lazareff, who they say had been her lover, that, after haughty reproaches on her side and prudent reflections on his, she snatched from the waist of a servant then present his poniard, and plunged it into the bosom of Lazareff, who fell dead at her feet. Appeased by this sacrifice, she consented to be taken to Moscow, where, in my journey through that city in 1819, I learned she still resided, receiving a pension from the government.

After the death of Tchitchianow, the Russian government, too deeply engaged in the affairs of Europe, neglected in some measure the destiny and prosperity of these new provinces, and not only sent, according to the general opinion, persons unfit for its administration, but changed them so often, that no improvement could reasonably be expected. Such was still the fate of



Georgia, on which thus weighed the calamities of Asia and of Europe, until the end of the European campaigns of 1814, when the Emperor Alexander turned his attention towards that country.

It was at this epoch that General Yermolow was, after his celebrated embassy to Teheran, appointed general-in-chief, with full power to organize and pacify this interesting country, an undertaking sufficient of itself to immortalize the name of this general, but which the Persians are incessantly striving to thwart by their perfidious conduct, and by their constant endeavour to foment insurrection in favour of the Tzarwitch in some of the provinces of Georgia, and especially in those on the confines of Persia, whose religious creed places them more within the influence of their seductions.

With respect to the religion of the Georgians, history informs us that Nono, who lived in the time of Constantine, being carried a captive to Georgia, converted the Tzar Mirian to Christianity, as well as most of his subjects, by the extraordinary cures he performed, which were looked upon by the people as miracles, and which he declared to emanate from the holiness of his religion. From that time the Georgians have never ceased to profess the Greek creed, and

were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople until the eleventh century, when they appointed their own patriarchs. The number of ruined churches which are found throughout this country, show how general was this religion among the inhabitants.

The Armenians, who owing to their religion are constantly obliged to take refuge in Georgia, on account of the vexations they experience from the Turks and Persians, formed in 1820 more than the fourth part of the Georgian population, and more than half of that of Teflis. The Armenians carry on most of the commerce of this country. Their love for mercantile pursuits exempts them from the indolence which so generally prevails among the Asiatics.

The Jews are by no means numerous here, and constitute but a very indigent and insignificant class of people. This may be attributed to the activity of the Armenians in every branch of trade.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the court of Rome sent some Capuchin missionaries, who established themselves in some of the principal towns of Georgia. The superior and a few more have their residence at Teflis, and obtained from the government sufficient ground to build a church and a convent, to

which a considerable garden is annexed. It is very probable that the long beards, which distinguish the Capuchins from the other Catholic friars, gained them the preference over others for the mission of this country, where even the Catholics themselves believe that a long beard is an indispensable appendage to a minister of the altar. I have seen a Dominican friar, who came from Poland to join the mission of Teflis, and who, notwithstanding his being a native of Georgia, felt obliged to let his beard grow, not to lose the good opinion of his flock. These missionaries, besides the exact fulfilment of their spiritual duties, devote much of their time to the assistance of the sick, their humanity and unremitting attentions entitling them to the greatest praise.

The sectaries of Omar and those of Ali have also their mosques at Teflis. At noon, the vociferations of their *olanes*<sup>1</sup> from the towers of their temples are heard in spite of the deafening noise made by the bells of the Christians. The ancient temples of the idolaters are still extant; but they now serve only as places of refuge for destitute families. All these different religions are tolerated in Georgia, the same as throughout the Russian empire, and enjoy an

<sup>1</sup> Attendants at the mosques.

equal protection from the government. This enlightened policy, together with the steady endeavours of the armed force to preserve tranquillity in every part of the country, in which there is every reason to hope they will ultimately succeed, and the indefatigable cares and good administration of the modern chief, have thrown open the gates of Georgia to all foreigners, either Asiatic or European, who by their commerce with the natives so greatly contribute to foment the industry of the country, the prosperity of which must now be rapidly increasing.

With respect to the Khanas, or Tartar principalities, which form the limits of Georgia on the east and south ; such as Nougha, Shirvan, Karaway, although at the time of that country's incorporation with Russia, the respective Khans declared themselves tributaries, and subjects to the Emperor, there were certain stipulations made, by which no Russian troops were to be stationed in their provinces. Thus the government of Georgia has there no other armed force than that required to maintain the communication from one point to another. Gangea, or Elizabethpol, was incorporated with Georgia during the administration of Prince Tchitchianow. Nougha, a province on the western boundaries of Kakhethia, was joined to Georgia at the death of their

last Khan, and is under the immediate authority of a military governor. This province, and those of Shirvan and Karaway, far from admitting any Russian troops, have agreed with the government to furnish them, whenever they should require it, their contingents of cavalry.

Thus the Russian provinces, comprised under the name of Georgia, and extending from the southern part of the Caucasus, may be classed as follows: Kahetia, Kartalinia, and Imeretia, Christian provinces of the Greek, Armenian, and Catholic creeds. Elizabethpol, Karaway, Shirvan, Nougha,<sup>1</sup> Mahometan provinces composed of Tartars, sectaries of Omar, and of Persians, sectaries of Ali.

The costume of these various provinces differs but little. They all wear very wide trowsers, two short tunics, the under one always of some bright colour, and the other of cloth, either blue or of a darker hue, the sleeves of which are very

<sup>1</sup> The population of these provinces cannot be correctly ascertained, owing to the continual emigrations from Persia and Turkey, by which it is increased. In 1819, however, the Christian population was said to amount to 420,000 souls; and that of the Mussulmans to 320,000. When the territory is taken into consideration, this disproportion is striking; but it may be easily accounted for by the thousands of families which have been carried off by the Persians in their various incursions.

wide and open from the wrist to the elbow, and which, when thrown across over the shoulders, is considered among them as a signal for combat. A cap of black lambskin of Astrakhan, with a small crown of red cloth, and boots with long pointed toes, complete their attire. The Tartars, like the rest of the Mahometans, are distinguished from the Christians and Armenians by their long beards, which they preserve with a fanatical zeal, and by the top of their cap being turned inside. All make use of the bourka, tied round the neck with a handkerchief, and which is the only winter covering known here.

The character of the Armenians, particularly of those who devote themselves to commerce, is not considered by the Georgians as the most exalted. Always calculating, and engaged in speculations, they would sooner bear with a thousand outrages than with the loss of an ounce of cotton; but the government may safely reckon on them for any useful enterprise by which their commerce or industry is likely to benefit. In this case they are always ready with their loans.

The Georgians, on the contrary, cherishing the remembrance of the exploits which maintained them as an independent nation, are passionately fond of the profession of arms, and en-

thusiastic for every thing that is heroical and sublime. Their ballads, which are full of extravagant hyperboles, and fanfaronades on their national valour, contribute to keep alive their love for war, in which, like the rest of the Asiatics, personal courage is considered as the supreme virtue, a notion which they derive from the sort of guerilla warfare which they have hitherto pursued. The Georgians wear linen like the Europeans, especially since their intercourse with them. In general, they are tall and well-proportioned; have regular features, dark complexions, and black and expressive eyes. It would be difficult to find throughout Georgia a real native with light hair or blue eyes. There is a degree of haughtiness in their carriage and ostentation in their manners, which are not unbecoming men who are certainly capable of the greatest sacrifices; but they are treacherous and deceitful when once offended. They are greatly distinguished from the Armenians by their strong passions, which also render their countenances more animated.

The Tartars wear taffeta-shirts, almost always of a red colour, and which they change only once a year, a circumstance which, notwithstanding their continual ablutions, must give a tolerable idea of their uncleanness. They are generally

very corpulent, have dark eyes, and their complexion is nearly a copper colour. They are serious and circumspect in their demeanour, valiant without boasting, industrious, and hospitable. They love war as a hunting expedition, and are as well suited for a rapid excursion as unfit for a slow and continued enterprise.

The general-in-chief, well aware of the peculiar character of each of these nations, and wishing to give to it the greatest development possible, removed all the obstacles which obstructed the commerce of the Armenians, and thus increased the public prosperity. He excited the noble ambition of the Georgian youth, by employing near his person and admitting into his army a great number of native officers who had conducted themselves honourably, and who deserved his confidence. And lastly, he imparted to the warlike character of the Tartars all the steadiness of which it is susceptible, by organizing their contingents in as regular a manner, as the natural hatred of every Mahometan for discipline permitted.

The Khans, accustomed, by long abuse of power, to exercise in their provinces all species of tyranny, strove as much as was in their power to impede the uniform march and thwart the organization of the government of Teflis; but



the authors of these disorders, far from succeeding in their attempts, were quickly obliged to fly to another soil. The inhabitants of those provinces, however, being too well satisfied with this kind of administration, and having less tribute to pay when they depend on the authority of a military governor, are never very much inclined to second the continual endeavours of Persia, or of the fugitive Khans, to excite them to rebellion.

The enlightened policy of the government of Teflis, and the probity, firmness, and well-known prudence, of General Yermolow, may very justly be said to have conquered the obstinacy of every party, and succeeded in uniting both Christians and Mussulmans under the same power and standard.

## CHAP. XIV.

Internal commerce—New bazaar—The caravanserais—Mixed society of Asiatics—Caravans—Carpets, gold tissues, Cashmere shawls—Jewellery—Manufactures—Cutlery—The steel of Korazan—Traffic in Georgian women—Furs of the black fox—Fruits and rose-trees of Georgia—Fertility—Georgia compared with Andalusia—Wheat from Odessa—Cultivation of rice—Vineyards of Kahetia—River Koura—Gardens surrounding Teflis—Celebrated hot baths of Teflis—Mode of being bathed by the Tartars—Toilet of the Georgian women—Their dances—Paint—Beauty—Lively imagination—Their chastity and fidelity—Pride of the nobles—Feudal system in use—Persian language most in fashion—Dialects—Literature at a low ebb—Weddings—Motive for early marriages—Funeral of General Ahuerdoff—Funeral rites of the Georgians.

THE commerce of Georgia may be said to be concentrated at Teflis; the bazaar, therefore, is proportionably large, and contains all the retail shops, which are distributed in different narrow and winding streets, situated in the old city. The government, wishing to give every encouragement in their power to trade, was building another in the new city, which must by this time be finished, though they had many prejudices on the part of the inhabitants to overcome, as

the spot on which it is built was the burial-ground of the Georgians. The caravanserais are also very numerous in that city, and contain the wholesale magazines, which are so well stocked, that not only the bazaar of Teflis, but those of Imeretia and Kahetia are supplied by them. Each of these caravanserais forms a large building, the interior of which is subdivided into a great number of small rooms, not unlike the cells of a monastery, and which communicate with spacious galleries, looking into a large yard, in which are seen pell-mell camels, buffaloes, and horses, belonging to the different caravans, which are continually crossing the streets of Teflis. Thus nothing is more common in these places than to find the Persian and the Turk, the Lesghi and the Armenian, the Tartar and the Greek, living amicably together.

Cashmere shawls, gold tissues, and rich carpets, are the chief ornaments and attraction of the caravanserais, and in great request among the wealthy Georgian families. The attitude of these oriental merchants, sitting cross-legged on their carpets, now with a pipe and now with a kalion,<sup>1</sup> until they are interrupted by

<sup>1</sup> A kalion is a large porcelain or crystal vase, ornamented with precious stones. It contains the water through which the smoke of the tobacco passes, and is in general use

customers, when the suddenness with which they pass from this state of inaction to that of mercantile eloquence and active gesticulation, excite the attention and surprise of a stranger. The gold ducat of Holland is the favourite coin among these Asiatic merchants. Any purchase may be made at Teflis with great advantage when the payment is proposed in this coin.

There are several manufactories in this city, which greatly contribute to its wealth. The enamel in silver, which is much used in jewellery and in arms, is equally beautiful and permanent, as well as the colours, which are extremely bright. The sabres and the kinnjales, or poniards, are carried to the greatest possible perfection. The steel of Korazan is generally used for this purpose, and is the finest known in Asia. The blades are so well prepared, tempered, and damaskened at Teflis, that they are considered very superior to all others, and fetch

among the Tartars and the Persians, who are often seen riding and smoking, followed by an attendant also on horseback, who carries in the holsters the kalion and all the necessary apparatus for smoking, which his master enjoys by means of a leather tube, forty or fifty feet long, at whatever pace he may chose to go.

an exorbitant price. There is also a manufactory of caps both for Persians and Georgians, for which there is a great demand. Indeed, Teflis offers a good representation of the fair of Nijni Novgorode, though on a smaller scale, and there is little doubt but that if once the communication between Georgia and Astrakhan through the Daghestan, and with the Black Sea through Imeretia, should be well established, the market of Teflis will by its advantageous situation, rival that of Nijni Novgorode, and Georgia will then be able to defray all the expenses of its administration and of its army.

It is, however, impossible not to feel surprised at the mercantile activity observable in this city, when we consider that only twenty-six years ago the first and most considerable article of commerce consisted of young men and women, the latter being generally sold for the harem of the Shah of Persia, or for the seraglio of the Sultan. A beautiful Georgian woman was often exchanged for a damasked sabre, or for an Arabian horse. This infamous traffic ceased with the presence of the Russian army, and the government has since turned their attention to this interesting portion of society, by giving them an education very different from that

which was formerly bestowed on them, and thereby increasing their importance in the eyes of their countrymen.

The mountaineers of the Caucasus, and particularly the Lesghis, also bring to the market of Teflis the produce of their industry, and their coarse articles, consisting of bourkas, skins, raw silk, honey, and wax; and take in exchange linen, cloth, iron, and Russian leather. Among the skins brought for sale are found, though very rarely, and at an immense price, that of the black fox. It is asserted, that the only two complete cloaks of this fur were in the possession of the Emperor Alexander and Napoleon, who had received his from the former.

The fine climate and fertile soil of Georgia produce every kind of fruit found in the south of Spain, such as wild vines, olive, almond, pear, apricot, date, mulberry, and pomegranate trees, and woods of rose-trees. All these are seen in blossom in the first days of March. Nature, here so prodigal of her gifts, demands only the cares of man to make Georgia the most prosperous country of the East. Its provinces, like Andalusia, though abounding in every kind of production, are often in want of the corn sufficient for their support. In this case the price of wheat, which they are obliged to bring across

the Caucasus, is very high. The communication of Georgia with the Black Sea, an object the attainment of which is zealously attended to by the government, will open a new source of prosperity to this country, and enable it to procure with facility, and at a moderate price, the corn of which they may stand in need and which abounds in the market of Odessa. Meantime rice, which is very plentiful throughout Georgia, supplies the deficiencies of the former; but it is to be feared, as unfortunately is the case in some of the southern provinces of Spain, that the cultivation of rice may be productive of insalubrity to the country, on account of the manner of preparing the soil on which it is grown.

Some of the provinces, especially that of Kahetia, in which the vineyards are so numerous, furnish more than sufficient wine for the consumption of the country; and if the example of Colonel Tchitchiwaze (who in the short space of three years which he devoted to the cultivation of his vineyards, assisted by intelligent foreigners, has rendered his wines celebrated) were to be followed, there is no doubt that the wine of Kahetia would reach a high state of perfection, provided, however, they would keep it in casks, a measure which in this







country would be easily adopted, as they have excellent wood for this purpose.

The waters of Teflis are said to be very good for dying, and to them is attributed the bright and permanent colours possessed by the stuffs and carpets manufactured in this city. Nothing however surprises a stranger so much, when he examines the beautifully-made shawls, carpets, sabres, and poniards, articles in horn, &c. as the coarseness of the instruments used for manufacturing the various objects of their industry.

The river Kur, Kour, or Koura, traverses the city of Teflis, and flows through steep rocks. The new town is situated on the heights of the right bank of the river, adjoining the old, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on the brow of a hill on which the ancient castle stands. The suburbs called Awlaborie and Yrni are on the left bank. On both sides of the river a multitude of gardens of every description spread far beyond the city, and offer, during the long spring which this country enjoys, many cheerful and picturesque prospects.

The new city is built on an entirely modern plan, suggested by the government, which is endeavouring to improve the old town, by giving to both the streets and houses a more modern

and regular appearance. The Armenians, finding it to their interest, efficaciously second the efforts of the government.

The baths of Teflis are situated at the eastern extremity of the city, at the foot of the hill, and on the road leading to the southern provinces. The hot springs pour through the rocks into the baths, and are considered an excellent specific for rheumatic complaints, and for certain kinds of wounds. They serve likewise for the continual ablutions to which the Georgians, like all the Asiatics, are accustomed. The heat of these baths is from 12 to 50 degrees of Reaumur. The sulphureous smells which those from 30° to 40° emit, render them very unpleasant, those used for common purposes being from 12° upwards. They are open to the public night and day, through the whole week, except on Saturdays, when they are generally engaged by the Georgian women.

The basins for bathing are cut near the rock, and underneath the pipes through which the water flows. The baths are divided into three or four grottoes, each of a different temperature, and only one of which admits a little light through a small sky-light in the vault, which is constructed of brick, in the Arabian manner. The baths for the men are exclusively served by

Tartars, who are accustomed to this kind of service.

When a person arrives at the bath, one of the Tartars conducts him to a platform covered with carpet, where he undresses previous to his entering the bath. At the door of the second grotto he is met by another Tartar, who, like all those employed in the interior of these dark vaults, which are scarcely lighted by the feeble glimmerings of a few lamps, is in a state of nature. Here he may be said to receive a vapour-bath, produced by the steam issuing from the hot springs. On his arriving at the entrance of the bathing grotto, a stranger is obliged to carry on his conversation by signs, as very few can make themselves understood by these men. The repeated process of compressing the body, twisting the limbs, making the joints play, and handling one like a sponge, &c. which then commences, has been so frequently described, that I will pass it over in silence, remarking only, that two hours after these ablutions, one feels an extraordinary improvement in the whole frame.

The women, especially those of the higher class, were formerly in the habit of spending four-and-twenty hours in these vaults; but now they only remain here during a few hours,

though the whole of Saturday the baths are exclusively engaged for them. Besides bathing, the Georgian women make here their toilet, seated on carpets brought by their attendants. Both old and young make use of a pomatum prepared by themselves, by means of which they preserve the colour of their hair, especially those of an advanced age. They also paint and varnish their faces with red and white, and their nails with yellow, whilst they tease themselves with endeavouring to make their eyebrows meet, which, in this country, is considered as essential to beauty.

When their toilet is ended, they lie down to sleep; and, on awakening, are served with various refreshments, chiefly consisting of fruits and preserves. Formerly, they never uncovered their faces before a stranger; but at present that custom is so far abolished, that, though they still show some shyness, they only veil whilst travelling, when they invariably ride astride on horseback, entirely dressed in white, and preceded by a running footman, who is armed with a stick.

On Sundays, the families assemble in the evening, which they chiefly spend in dancing, the ladies always by themselves, and in couples, the various attitudes they use being too wanton

to permit the men to take a part in the dances, without, in some measure, transgressing the rules prescribed by decorum. There is some resemblance between these and the national dances of Andalusia, although the music of the former chiefly consists of timbrels and tambourines, and sometimes of a harp.

With respect to the beauty of the Georgian women, it differs according to the various provinces; but those who are best entitled to the celebrity they enjoy for personal attractions, inhabit the country about the Caucasus. According to the opinion of persons who have had the opportunity of estimating their mental qualities, the Georgian women are endowed with lively imaginations, generous feelings, and vehement passions; and, as most of the defects in their character arise more from habit and want of education than from nature, the improvement which they are daily making in the former will quickly cause them to disappear.

In Georgia, prostitution and adultery are almost unknown, though there still exists a custom among the lower class for the parents to give their daughters, for a small sum of money, to those who wish to live with them; but, as this is done through the intervention of the police, this sort of commerce becomes, in some mea-

sure, legal, and prevents the children born under these circumstances from being abandoned.

The women, during the time they are thus united, observe the utmost fidelity, and are as careful and economical in their household concerns, as if they were linked to their companions by more binding ties. From the moment the parents have resigned their daughters, they have no further control over them, nor can they see them but with the permission of the temporary husband, or when they are called to take them back. As the man who forms this kind of connexion must give a pecuniary guarantee to the police, if he wishes his children to be placed in the asylum for orphans rather than take charge of them, they become, from the moment of their birth, children of the government, who not only educate, but afterwards give them a profession analogous to their dispositions.

The Georgians of the lower class do not scruple to marry women who may have been thus living with other men; and when they possess them and their dowry, their jealousy is such, that it surpasses all that is said of the ancient Spaniards. Generally speaking, the Georgian women, whether mistresses or wives, have such a strong attachment for the object of their affection, no matter what his age or personal appear-

ance may be, that they look upon infidelity with the greatest horror.

The pretensions of the Georgian nobility, respecting their ancient origin, are as absurd as any in the world, and most of them claim their descent from David. This is the reason why the majority have a harp in their coat of arms.

They are generally very proud, though they show themselves so only to the natives; for they seldom venture to boast of such ridiculous pretensions to foreigners, the old men among the aristocracy being too well aware of their inferiority in point of education, and the young men knowing that whatever they have acquired in this respect, they owe it to the Russians. Among the Georgian princes the feudal system is still in existence, and, as was formerly the custom in Europe, their vassals follow them to the wars.

The Persian language is spoken among the higher class, as the French is in Europe. There are two dialects commonly used in Georgia; the one by the ecclesiastics in their religious performances, and the other by the civilians. The former is derived from the Greek and the Armenian, and the latter from the Persian and the Turkish languages. As it invariably happens when one nation passes under the dominion of another, many Russian words have already



been introduced into the Georgian dialect. The Georgians and the Armenians, unlike the rest of the Asiatic nations, write from left to right. Their literature, though it dates its origin from Tamar, has no claim to that appellation, and is confined to a few ballads ; but the calamities in which Georgia has been involved by the frequent invasions of the Persians and other barbarians, account for the slow progress of learning. During the reign of Heraclius a new grammar was composed, which is still in use. Several classic works were also translated, and various schools established. The first map which appeared in Russia in the reign of Peter I. including some of the provinces of Georgia, was traced by Alexander Bekevitch, a Circassian prince.

Although the Georgian weddings are similar to the Russian, as far as regards the religious ceremony, they differ in other respects, particularly among the nobility. The marriages in this class are always contracted with a view to family interests, and very rarely through love and esteem. It was formerly the custom for the parents to betroth their children from the cradle, and their union often took place at so early an age, that the united years of the bride and bridegroom did not amount to twenty-four. It was by this means that the unhappy parents

eluded the tribute both of girls and boys whom the Tzars of Georgia were obliged to send to the Mahometans when they were tributary to them. Another indispensable part of the etiquette was, that the betrothed persons should not have previously seen each other, a custom which, since their intercourse with the Russians, is not so much adhered to. The ceremony to which I alluded above, however, remains unchanged, such being the attachment of these people to their ancient customs.

The bride proceeds to the church covered with a thick veil, in which are two holes for the eyes, and the bridegroom leads her by the hand to the altar with the anxiety natural to one who has not the remotest idea of the physical or moral qualities of his bride. When the religious ceremony is concluded, they are conducted to the house of the girl's parents amidst the firing of musketry, where the couple are placed in the middle of a saloon, the bride still covered with her veil; and all their friends sit round them, for several hours remaining in the same attitude, without uttering a single word, or taking any refreshment; whilst the bride and bridegroom, by their immobility, appear more like two figures on an altar than two human beings, the latter probably praying Heaven for a favourable denoue-

ment of this matrimonial drama. After this long penance, the bridesmaid lifts up the veil of the bride. It may be easily conceived the different impressions which this act must produce in the bridegroom, who, however, folds his wife in his arms, of course more than once, if his prayer has been listened to; and thus often love begins where etiquette ends.

Soon after my arrival at Teflis, General Ahuerdoff, commandant of the artillery of the Georgian army, whose house I had much frequented, died in the flower of his age. Although I have always been of opinion, that some better means than funeral processions and parade might be devised to evince our regret for the loss of those we love and esteem, the friendly terms on which I had been with the family obliged me to accept an invitation to attend the funeral. I therefore repaired to the house of General Ahuerdoff at the appointed hour, where I found the body lying in state. The officers most attached to him acted as pall-bearers, and the military ceremony was in every respect similar to that used in Europe; but immediately after the corpse, the widow and children of the deceased advanced on foot in deep mourning. On our arrival at the church, she was led to the steps of the funeral monument raised in the middle of the

church, where she remained during the long Greek requiem, offering the most afflicting spectacle imaginable; and, as if this were not sufficient, the wretched lady and her children were conducted to the top of the monument, to take their last farewell of the mortal remains deposited in the coffin. The scene of distress which followed was of a truly heart-rending nature. It confirmed me in my opinion of the uselessness of these distressing ceremonies, which, notwithstanding their antiquity, I cannot help considering as anti-religious; the object of true religion being rather to soften than heighten our afflictions.

The Georgians observe the same rites in their funerals as the Russians; but some of their ceremonies differ. Thus the horse of the deceased (and there are very few men in Asia who do not possess a horse) always precedes the corpse; carrying the saddle invertedly. Behind the coffin come his relations, bearing his arms lowered almost to the earth; and in the rear follow his whole family, mother, wife, brothers, sisters, and children, uttering at every moment the most lamentable cries. In the church the women remain prostrate on the coffin for several hours, and immediately after the interment the funeral procession returns to the house in the same order as before. The men then withdraw, and

the women seat themselves on the ground around the widow, all observing the most profound silence; until one of those who is reputed the most eloquent among them, enumerates at intervals some of the good qualities that adorned the deceased; when the clamorous lamentations, groans, shrieks, and tears, commence. The widow, whether she be inclined or not, scratches her face, tears her hair, and does all in her power to disfigure herself. This ceremony is repeated every day for several hours during the space of six weeks; and thus the disconsolate relict undergoes a Lent of affliction. What artifices must be resorted to in order to cause their tears to flow for such a length of time! But absurd as is the custom, it is very difficult to alter the usage here detailed.

In some of the provinces of the Caucasus where the Christian religion is not professed, the same custom is observed. Our surprise, however, lessens respecting these long and weeping mournings, when we are informed that the women in this country are not allowed to marry a second time; for when they do so, they bring upon themselves the execration of their friends; a custom which is perhaps no less absurd than the former.

## CHAP. XV.

Hospital at Teflis—Schools—Earthquakes—Public edifices and churches—Death of Princes Tchitchianow and Eristow by the treachery of the Khan of Bakon—Ancient fortress of Teflis destroyed—Priests confined in the dungeons—Crimes—Adventures of Majors Lindsay and Mackintosh, on their return from Persia—Mission of Mouraviëff to Turcomania—Club, assembly-room, and public library—Reserve of the ladies of Georgia—Their dances and music—Ball at Prince Madatoff's—Raptures of the Turcoman emissaries in witnessing the manners of Europe—Revolt in Imeretia—Assassination of Colonel Poussilewsky—Campaign against the rebellious Khans—Character of General Madatoff—Anecdote regarding Father Philip, a Capuchin missionary—Yermolow's reception of the Persian envoys—Departure of the expeditionary troops from Teflis.

THE Russian government has founded and endowed several benevolent institutions, among which are, the hospital, which is situated in an airy and healthy part of the town, at its northern extremity, and near the Koura, and several public schools for both sexes, in which the formation of manners is a prominent feature; thus bestowing on the inhabitants of these pro-

vinces the greatest blessing which a truly paternal government can impart, and opening to Asia the gates of European civilization.

Within the short space of a few months, the new city of Teflis has been embellished by several public buildings, the principal of which are, the house of the general-in-chief, the officers of the government and of the staff; the house of the late general of artillery, Ahuerdoff; that of Prince Madatoff; and those of several nobles and rich Armenians. Besides, as in the capital the rich inhabitants are obliged to quarter the officers of the army in their houses, and not choosing to have them under the same roof as their women, they have caused several handsome and comfortable houses to be built, at their own expense, for that purpose. Consequently, Teflis is daily becoming larger, more handsome, and populous; points which meet with every possible encouragement from the government. There is also a public garden, called of the Crown, which is the principal resort of the higher class, and which likewise contributes to the embellishment of the city.

The old houses have, for the most part, no other foundations than the rocks on which they are built; the reason assigned for this being the frequent earthquakes that are felt here. I re-

member to have experienced one at the beginning of my illness, and during an access of fever, when my apartment and my bed shook for more than thirty seconds.

There are, in Teflis, a great number of churches, which are becoming every day richer by the gifts of the inhabitants, and the care of the priests in increasing the revenues. Among these, the metropolitan Greek church called Sion is the most remarkable, and best attended. In one of the naves is a tomb containing the remains of Princes Tchitchianow and Eristow, who, in 1800, fell victims to the treachery of the Khan of Bakon, when they were on the point of entering that fortress, which had been invested by the Russian troops, and to which the former prince was invited by the Khan. Trusting to the word of the Tartar, Tchitchianow advanced, accompanied by his countryman Prince Eristow, and a few Cossacks, in order to receive the keys of the fortress; but, as they approached the gates, they were both shot, by orders of the Khan, who sent their heads to the Shah of Persia. Bakon, however, was taken immediately after, and the conquerors embalmed the two corpses, and deposited them in an Armenian church, where they remained until the government caused them to be removed to the church



of Sion, and a tomb erected, on which an epitaph is inscribed, stating the principal facts relating to their death.

Towards the end of 1820, the government gave orders for the ancient fortress of Teflis to be demolished, preserving only the dungeons, in which the state prisoners are confined, most of whom, at the time of my residence in that city, were priests of various religions. When I was told this circumstance, I could not help showing some incredulity; but, on my being conducted to the prison by one of the public officers, I was soon undeceived, by seeing through the iron bars a great number of unfortunate men, who, to judge by their appearance, might easily have been mistaken for holy anchorites.

I am not sufficiently informed of the crimes by which all these men had brought themselves into that situation; but there is no doubt they must have greatly transgressed against such a mild and conciliating government as the present one truly is. I have been informed that, were it not for the respect which the military authority invariably manifests for the ministers of religion, some of them would have forfeited their lives on the scaffold.

It is related of a certain missionary, who was sent by his superiors to convert to Christianity

one of the tribes of the mountains, that after experiencing the kindest reception on the part of the mountaineers, who are indeed remarkable for hospitality, he was detected in the act of using brutal violence towards one of their beautiful women. The enraged husband stabbed them both on the spot, and ran with his poniard steeped in their blood to tell his friends the injury he had sustained, and stir them up to revenge. This caused an insurrection among some of the tribes, against whom the government were obliged to bring an armed force, to reduce them to submission. I could relate several other facts of a similar nature, which have taken place not only in the mountains, but even in Teflis, if such were the object of my narrative.

The concourse of people at Teflis increases considerably from the beginning of the month of April; and the variety of costumes, physiognomy, and languages, is then such, that the private parties offer the diversity of a European carnival. There I have met travellers from India and from Greece, emissaries from Korazan, and Persian messengers, in whose company were also two English officers, who were on their return home from Persia, where they had rendered great services to the country, as majors in the Persian army, and with whom I became ac-

quainted through the medium of the general-in-chief, who recommended them to me. One of them, whose name was Lindsey, had gained the particular esteem of Abbas Mirza, for whom he had organized, so far as the Persians are capable of organization, a school of artillery. This officer had brought back to her parents, at Teflis, a Georgian lady, whom Abbas Mirza, according to the barbarous usage of the East, had made him a present of. This lady, who was still young, and of a *finé* figure, had been carried away, with a great number of others, when she was still an infant, during the last invasion of the Persians in 1795, and had been brought up in the Harem. Major Lindsey, who had lived with her, and had two or three children, was on his way to England to take possession of a large fortune, and had with him one of his little boys, whom I have always seen dressed in the Persian costume.

The other officer, named Mackintosh, had distinguished himself in the service of the East India company at the storming of Seringapatam, and having been engaged in an affair of honour, which had led to serious consequences, was obliged to abandon his bannérs, and take refuge in Persia, where he had been employed in organizing the infantry of Abbas Mirza.

At the time when the Persian envoys arrived, there came with Colonel Mouraviëff, who had been sent on an important mission to Turcomania, a country on the eastern borders of the Caspian sea, several emissaries of that country, for the purpose of concluding with the Georgian government a treaty of mutual advantage to the two countries, and whose interests being opposed to those of the Persian envoys, did not appear much pleased with the presence of the former ; but they all added to the variety that was observable in the assemblies of the capital since the return of the general-in-chief.

The club of Teflis, which had been but lately established, was projected by both the civil and military authorities of the capital during the absence of General Yermolow, towards the close of 1819. This general, who being a single man could not hold assemblies in which ladies might participate, and who wished to draw closer the social ties between the European and Georgian ladies by means of such an establishment, on his arrival encouraged as much as possible the evening assemblies held there. A vast edifice, which had been just built in the new city by one of the most opulent Armenians of Teflis, was destined for this purpose ; and a general subscription among the officers, employés, and Geor-

gians of distinction, residing at Teflis, was raised to meet the expenses of the establishment. A library, which would soon contain a large collection of books, as there were many contributors to it, was formed ; several of the German and French journals were taken in ; some rooms appropriated for reading, and others for cards, to which both subscribers and foreigners might repair every evening. The club, besides, contained several spacious ball-rooms, with orchestras in the centre. A Dalmatian landlord of an hotel, who had been made prisoner during Napoleon's campaign in Russia, and carried by a Russian general to Georgia, was engaged to furnish the refreshment and suppers with which these parties generally terminated. In a word, every measure was taken to make this establishment prosper, and answer the object of the projectors.

At first many individuals of the Georgian nobility seemed averse to the introduction of this novelty, and showed some reluctance to share in its advantages. Their prejudice against it, however, soon gave way ; though the ladies could not be induced to attend until the arrival of General Yermolow at Teflis. But, as the European dances were unknown to them, it was only during supper-time that they came in closer con-

tact with the European ladies and gentlemen ; that is, whenever the extreme jealousy of their husbands did not interfere ; so that in general the Georgian ladies formed their dances in another saloon, from which issued the harsh sounds of timbrels and tambourines, which they however seemed to prefer to the more harmonious ones of the orchestra of the club.

The Turcomans, who during their stay at Teflis were invited to these assemblies, led by their natural inclination for every thing Asiatic, paid little attention to the European dances, and spent most of their time in the saloon where the Georgian ladies were. These men, who were accustomed to enjoy these amusements only in their harems, appeared greatly astonished at the liberty with which, in their opinion, the ladies danced before the assembled party, and could scarcely contain their rapture at seeing the voluptuous attitudes and contortions of the Georgian ladies.

Prince Madatoff, who though belonging to an ancient Armenian family is very much attached to the European customs, gave a ball at his house in Teflis, which is one of the best in that city, and which he had at great expense furnished in the European manner, inviting to his party all the foreigners then in the capital, among whom

were the two English majors, and the Turcomans. The astonishment of the latter, who were expressly conducted to the ball-room, was still greater than at the club, when they observed both sexes waltzing together. Every one present thought that these men, who had very gravely seated themselves in the Asiatic manner on the fine sofas in the saloon, and whose eyes were immovably fixed on the whirlings, and, as they thought, embraces of the waltzers, would have gone out of their minds. Imagining that these dances must terminate in some strange manner, they were incessantly questioning Colonel Mouraviëff, by whom they were always accompanied, respecting it, and telling him that he had brought them to a dangerous and unknown paradise.

These Turcomans saw the troops manœuvre; attended some of the assemblies at the house of the general-in-chief; and were also taken to a masquerade, an amusement which is entirely unknown in their country; but there was nothing they admired so much as the expressive looks and twining of the arms of some of the dancers they had seen at Prince Madatoff's.

All these recreations, which are doubtless the best means to create an intercourse between the natives and the Europeans, were shortly to be abandoned by some of us for other occu-

pations more analogous to our profession of arms, occasioned by the machinations both of external and internal enemies. Some parts of Imeretia had just revolted, and commenced hostilities by the perfidious assassination of Colonel Poussilewsky, who, trusting to the general esteem in which he was held, and the good faith of the man who betrayed him, presented himself unaccompanied at a tower in Gouriel, the residence of one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, who had invited the colonel to a country party for the purpose of perpetrating that crime. Some of the conspirators were at that time at Teflis, lavishing their flatteries on the general-in-chief, a conduct by no means uncommon among the Asiatics. On the other hand, one of the provinces of the Caucasus called Kazykoumyk, situated between the Daghestan and the country of the Tchetchenkis, and which was under the authority of a Khan, who delighted in tyrannizing over his people, and committing the greatest atrocities on all the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces who fell into his hands, began to threaten the tranquillity of the Daghestan by collecting a large army for the purpose of invading it. This Khan, who was united by ties of blood to the Khan of Shirvan, and several others, tributaries to Persia, were



secretly excited to rebellion by this power, who, even in 1820, prepared an explosion at the two extremities of Georgia ; but which the general-in-chief resolved to stifle in its birth, by immediately sending General Williaminoff, chief of the staff, into Imeretia, and another armed force under the orders of General Madatoff into Kazykoumyk, to punish the rebellious Khan.

General Madatoff is a native of Karabah, and entered the Russian service whilst still very young. He made the campaigns of 1812, 13, and 14, against Napoleon as a superior officer, and was afterwards employed in Georgia, under the orders of General Yermolow. His knowledge of the language and customs of this country, his warlike character, activity, and noble ambition, together with his handsome Georgian figure, and his refined European manners, rendered him a very useful personage in these provinces. As he is still young, and meets with every encouragement and reward from the government; and as moreover he is enriched by the Khan of Karabah, who, either through policy or attachment, has always shown himself very generous towards him and his family ; he may still perform important services to Russia, if he should not fall an untimely victim to the hatred of the Asiatics.

Among the officers appointed to compose this

general's staff, I was one; and although my illness still continued unabated, I rejoiced at being employed in this expedition, in which, besides the pleasure I should derive from visiting several provinces of this interesting country, some opportunity might offer of distinguishing myself.

Being in the habit, like several other officers, of visiting the general-in-chief early every morning before the parade, one day the superior of the Capuchin missionaries, Father Philip, to whom I was indebted for many kind attentions during my illness, asked me to take him with me at that early hour to visit the general-in-chief; the rigour of the institute of his order preventing his visiting at the time when there was a concourse of people. Wishing to please him, and without diving into the true object of his mission, I mentioned, while at table, the wish of Father Philip to the general, who smiled, and motioned to me as if consenting to it. On the following day, I went early in the morning to the convent to conduct Father Philip to the audience of the general; who, when I entered his apartment arm in arm with the Capuchin, was surrounded by several officers in complete dishabille, General Yermolow making no scruple of dressing in the presence of the officers before the parade;

and often giving orders in his bed-room whilst putting on his clothes, without the least regard to ceremony. The general received Father Philip with all the good humour which characterized him, and spoke to him upon indifferent subjects both in Latin and Italian. But before he put on his uniform, he approached the father, and placing one hand on his shoulder, and the other on his chest, which was covered by his long beard, said, as if presenting him to the circle, "Gentlemen, here is Father Philip; he is a good devil!"

Nothing could equal the surprise of my companion, who remained motionless and confused until he saw the general preparing to leave his apartment for the parade, when he bowed with all the humility of his ministry, and withdrew. The meaning of this conduct of Yermolow was soon explained to me. It appears that the police of Georgia had discovered a clandestine correspondence between this missionary and some enemies of Russia, who resided in Persia, for which he had been severely reprimanded, and for which he would have been confined in a fortress, had it not been for the esteem and respect in which he was held by several officers and other persons of the Catholic religion. It is impossible for me to say whether these

accusations were true, though Father Philip assured me they were a fabrication of the commissary of the police, who had a personal resentment against him. Be this as it may, the truth is, I felt much hurt by the reception he met with, as I have always entertained for him the warmest attachment, and defended him as much as lay in my power, consistently with my duties.

The influence exercised by these missionaries in the internal affairs of every family who profess the same creed, and who in general refer to them their disputes, considering their decision as a sacred law; the extensive connexions which ever since their establishment in Georgia, nearly two centuries ago, they have had with the first families of the country, on account of their knowledge of pharmacy and their attendance on the sick; and, perhaps, the correspondence which they still maintain with the few families who have taken refuge in Persia, are circumstances which, doubtless, contribute to excite the suspicions of the police.

Yermolow was in the habit of giving audience every Sunday, on his return from church, to a certain class of foreigners. The envoys lately sent from the court of Persia, among whom was a bosom friend of Abbas Mirza, presented them-

selves at the audience of the general, who was by no means a stranger to the intrigues of these men with the revolted provinces, and to those they had been planning even at Teflis. They, however, laid before him the absurd pretensions of the Persians relative to the limits of their country, declared their amicable intentions, and expressed in a thousand ways their admiration in the names of the Shah their master, and of the heir apparent, for the Emperor of Russia, and for his lieutenants; and yet even while delivering these protestations, the blood of victims murdered at their instigation was flowing in several provinces!

The look which the general cast on them would have effectually silenced any other class of men possessing less effrontery and dissimulation; and ordering his interpreter to address them only in Georgian, returned a short and disdainful answer, such indeed as their perfidious intentions alone were entitled to. Four-and-twenty hours after this interview the agents of Persia left Teflis, convinced that their machinations were known to the general. This audience took place in one of the principal saloons of his house, and in the midst of a numerous concourse, amongst whom were several contemporaries of the Tzar Heraclius, to whom this

scene was highly interesting; as they could not but rejoice at seeing those inveterate enemies, from whom they had received so many outrages, humbled.

A few days after this audience Prince Madatoff received orders for his departure, and we prepared to quit the varied amusements of the capital.

## CHAP. XVI.

Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue—Prince Orbellanoff—Route appointed for the staff of Prince Madatoff—Caverns of the nomade Tartars—Bridge of the river Khram—Advance to the provinces bordering on Persia—The officers regaled by a Georgian noble—Plains of Tchamkhor—Wild goats—Ancient pillar and redoubt of Tchamkhor—Antique medal of Alexander the Great—Snakes—City of Elizabethpol—The old fortress—Gallant conduct of the Khan, who is slain—His cruelties—His demoniac experiments—His immense treasures were concealed—His palace and tower—Description of the city—Wirtemburghers settled near Elizabethpol—Monotonous songs of the Georgians—The author prosecutes his journey to Karabah—Important province of Karabah—River Khatchim dangerous—Chakboulak, ancient town—Snow-capped mountains—Sheep—Fortified defile—Beautiful cataract—Sturdy beggars, and their pretensions—Town of Choucha—River Cyrus—Fine climate—Intermittent fevers—The Araxes—The Khan of Karabah—Secrets of his harem—Sumptuous entertainment—Splendid Tartar of Nougha—Passage of the Kour.

THE officers appointed to form the staff of General Madatoff were, as chief of it, Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue, son of the celebrated and unfortunate author of this name; Captain Bevoutoff, a Georgian prince, aide-de-camp of

the general-in-chief; the sub-lieutenant Isakoff, nephew to General Williaminoff; Lieutenant Yakouwovitch, the same officer belonging to my regiment of whom I have already spoken; the young Kasbek, proprietor of the tower where I had sojourned on my crossing the Caucasus; and Prince Orbellanoff, belonging to one of the first families of the country, who was accompanied by a doctor, and by several nobles and other vassals, who formed his Asiatic and feudal suite; so that with the addition of our servants our number amounted to more than forty.

We left the capital at noon on the 7th of May, all on horseback except Princes Madatoff and Bevoutoff, who were to follow us on the succeeding day in a post-chaise. According to the instructions received by our general, we were to perform our journey to Choucha, the capital of the province of Karabah and two hundred and seventy-three wersts from Teflis, without any escort, although our route lay through the Tartar provinces on the frontiers of Persia, namely Nougha, Shirvan, and Karabah. On leaving Teflis, we directed our course to the latter province through the road to Persia, that borders the right bank of the Kour, which is embellished by the beautiful gardens that extend some distance from the capital. About



five wersts from Teflis are, on one side, the ruins of an old stone bridge, and on the other the materials collected for the erection of a fortress lately projected, and seven wersts further is the station of Cossacks called Zaganloug, very pleasantly situated on the banks of the Kour. In the evening we arrived at the second station, named Demourtchezalie, after travelling twenty-eight wersts through a less interesting country, where we spent the night. As the walls of the various rooms in these rudely constructed dwellings are of osiers, they are unpleasantly airy, the more so as the nights in this country are as cool as the days are hot, and they try the strength of constitution of the Cossacks and that of the travellers.

A few wersts beyond this station, which we left very early in the morning, we saw a great number of caverns, which from November to March serve as dwellings to the nomade Tartar families, subject to Georgia, who like the Kal-mucks spend on the neighbouring heights the rest of the year with their flocks. In these caverns, the women employ themselves during the winter in making, with the wool of their flocks and very coarse implements, the most beautiful carpets, which are seen in the market of Teflis.

At Krassnoïmoste, the river Khram, which

empties itself into the Kour, is crossed by a bridge constructed of brick, forming five arches, which well deserves the attention of travellers. The solidity with which it is built, its pavement, balustrades, internal staircases to the river, and width, together with the ruins of another bridge at a short distance, of several towers, and of a rampart, seem to justify the belief that an opulent city existed here in ancient times. The situation of this bridge further confirms this conjecture, as several roads meet here, namely, those of Elizabethpol, Erivan, Karaklis, and Goumri; that is to say, on the east that of Bakou, which is on the borders of the Caspian Sea, that of Persia on the south, and that of Asiatic Turkey on the west.

The weather was so stormy during the greatest part of the day, that we were obliged to halt about noon at Salaglie, and reached, but very late in the evening, Astafinnskoy, which is forty-five wersts from Demourtchezalie. The bad accommodations of the post-house, which scarcely afforded any shelter from the torrents of rain that fell, obliged us to form a tent with our bourkas under a cluster of thick trees, where we made a fire, and where Princes Madatoff and Bevoutoff found us on their arrival at midnight.

At the break of day the weather having cleared,

we continued our journey preceded by the general and his companion in their carriage, who started two hours before our departure. We had, scarcely travelled twelve wersts when several Georgians sent by their master, who was a friend of Prince Madatoff, came out to meet and conduct us to the tower, which was a few wersts to the west of the road.

On our alighting from our horses, the Georgian nobleman caused several tents to be pitched in a meadow adjoining the tower, where we spent four-and-twenty hours in rejoicings. A number of sheep were killed for the feast, during which wine was profusely served. After the repast every one contributed his song, and dancing followed, the prince and the lowest of his servants sharing equally in these amusements. This nobleman, who was one of the richest proprietors in this part of the country, showed his civility in a thousand ways, and insisted on our accepting sufficient wine, brandy, and dried fruits, for three days' journey.

On the following day we pursued our way through an extensive plain, bounded on the west by a long chain of mountains which extend from Teflis to Karabah, and at night reached Tchamkhor, fifty wersts beyond our place of entertainment. The plains of Tchamkhor greatly resem-

ble those of the province of La Mancha; no trees are to be seen in either; and if this country were as populous as Spain, or as there is every reason to believe it was in former times, the traveller would see in the morning the steeple of the town where his day's journey would terminate. We saw a great number of wild goats in these plains. Some of the Georgians belonging to Orbellanoff pretended they knew how to catch them; but they hunted the flocks in vain. Long before arriving at Tchamkhor is seen a column, at the foot of which is the Russian redoubt bearing that name, and forming a kind of square. Opposite to this place, and on a steep acclivity over which the road passes, are the remains of a bridge of three arches, against which rush the rapid waters of the river Tchamkhor.

The base of the column is fourteen feet square and of equal height, and the column itself is extremely lofty, and resembles, though built of brick, that of the Place Vendôme, at Paris. I ascended to the top of it by an interior staircase, which, though in a very dilapidated state, shows that it has been several times repaired to serve as an observatory in time of war. On some of the stones of the entablature, on which there appears to have been an exterior gallery, are

seen some Arabic inscriptions, which seem to be of a more modern date than the column. Some persons are of opinion that it was built in the time of Pompey, and others in that of Alexander the Great. Be this as it may, the number of ruins that are scattered about this spot seem to establish the conjecture, that this column was once the ornament of a considerable city, now inhabited by a few Cossacks.

An Armenian merchant, whom we met at Tchamkhor, sold to me for five roubles a silver medal bearing the profile of Alexander the Great, which he assured me had been found among the ruins of Tchamkhor. According to the opinion of some antiquaries who have seen it, this medal is both curious and valuable. Wishing to present it, with some other curiosities, to the Atheneum of Madrid, on my return to Spain in 1821 I gave it to an Italian lapidary of that city to put it into a case, in whose hands it still remains.

We left Tchamkhor early in the morning by the road to Elizabethpol, which is twenty-five wersts from that place. The plains through which we travelled are completely barren; but though the monotony of the country was uninterrupted we had plenty of occupation on our hands, for such was the number of snakes we

met, which the excessive heat of these days kept in constant motion, that at every step we were obliged to guide our horses right and left, and make frequent use of our sabres. These reptiles are commonly from four to five feet long, and an inch and a half thick. Nothing could be more unpleasant than their crushing under our horses' feet; and this annoyance lasted till we came within two wersts of Elizabethpol, where a number of gardens and orchards spread on both sides of the road, from which of course cultivation excluded them.

The city of Elizabethpol, formerly Gangea, is situated on a plain watered by a small river called Gangea, which discharges itself into the Kour at twenty-five wersts from that city, and bathes the walls of the town. On the right of the road, a little before entering the city, is the fortress, which contains the palace formerly inhabited by the Khans, and which Prince Tchitchianow, when he took possession of it, named after the then reigning Empress. This fortress is constructed with the utmost solidity, and by no means contemptibly fortified; it is surrounded by wide and deep moats, and mounted with Turkish cannon of a thick caliber. It was taken by the Russian troops after some days' siege, and on a second assault: The Khan, who

had concealed in the palace his immense treasures, performed prodigies of valour during its defence, and seeing himself closely attacked withdrew into a battery where he had an iron cannon of forty-eight pounds, which is still seen dismounted near the place, on which he sat astride, and fought with his sabre until he fell.

My limits will not allow me to relate all that is said of the conduct of this Khan, who exercised unheard-of cruelties on all those who were subject to his authority, and who delighted in making even his wives and children suffer the most excruciating torments for the most trifling fault they committed. The interpreter of the commandant of this place, who had lived with the Khan, related to us, that his former master, curious to see whether the countenance of one of his most beautiful women was rendered more interesting by suffering than by pleasure, put her to such dreadful tortures that she expired in the midst of them, an experiment which, notwithstanding its fatal termination, he tried on a second with equal results!

During our short stay here, we saw a man who had been steward to the Khan, and who had also experienced his cruelty. As it is the custom among the Mahometans to lower their

eyes when any of the wives of their princes pass near them, one day the steward looked inadvertently at one of these ladies whom he was in the habit of meeting. On the Khan being informed of this, he caused him to be brought before him, and asked him which side of his face was towards her when she passed him. The unfortunate steward told him, and the Khan immediately ordered that the guilty eye should be put out, though he still kept him in his service. This poor wretch having lost his situation by the victory of the Russians, was obliged to accept that of clerk in the mosque of Elizabethpol. Among other things which he related to us, he said, that since the Russians took possession of that province, there had been only one person condemned by the laws to suffer capital punishment; or in other words, that during the space of eighteen years, he had seen only once what in the palace, and in the presence of his former master, was performed almost daily.

The Russian army found in this fortress many pecuniary resources, which contributed to improve the state of their finances; but the bulk of the treasures of the Khan have not yet been found, as the men employed in concealing them were assassinated by his orders, that no one but himself might possess the secret; consequently



the Russian government did not reap all those advantages which they expected from the reputed wealth of this Khan.

The saloons of the palace of the Khan are at present used as an hospital for the garrison of the city. Close to a promenade, which extends to the entrance of the town, and adjoins the palace, the Khan caused a tower to be erected for the purpose of observing the frequent risings of his tyrannized people.

On our arrival at Elizabetopol I was induced by the commandant of the district to accept of a lodging at his house, which was one of the finest in the city, and the residence assigned to the nearest relations of the late Khan. The city presents a confusion of ruins and houses newly built, most of which have large gardens, which give the town an appearance of great extent, though its population scarcely amounted in 1820 to eleven hundred inhabitants. The situation of Elizabetopol is better adapted for commerce than for war. As a military point it owes its importance rather to the impotency of Persia than to its proximity to the frontiers of that country, and it is believed, that the Russians will demolish its fortifications when the natural limits of Georgia are extended to the river Araxes.

There are two other colonies of Wirtemburghers in the neighbourhood of Elizabethpol, which are said not to prosper so well as those near Teflis, on account of the vexations, extortions, and losses of every kind which these industrious families experience from the Tartars, who look upon them with jealousy, and from whose outrages the government cannot always shelter them.

From Elizabethpol to the capital of Karabah there are two roads, one of which, the post or highway, is one hundred and twenty-five wersts in extent, and the other a bye-road, which shortens the journey one third. All my comrades, and the Georgians who followed Orbelanoff, resolved to travel through the latter; but the state of my health preventing my accompanying them, I left Elizabethpol by the post-road, accompanied by my servant, and an escort of two Cossacks, and passed the night at the station of Karakchaïskoy, nineteen wersts beyond that city.

The unbroken silence of my solitary journey formed a strong contrast with the confused noise and monotonous songs which night and day rung in my ears while travelling with the Georgians. The weather was insupportably hot during the day; but the nights became

equally cool as I advanced towards the mountains of Karabah. A little beyond Karakchaïskoy I crossed the river Kourakchaï, which has its source in the neighbouring mountains, and flows through these plains until it empties itself into the Koura, at a distance of sixty wersts. That river forms the limits between the provinces of Elizabetopol and Karabah, the latter of which I now entered.

Although this country is entirely uncultivated, the soil is by no means sterile. Parallel with the road, to the west, are seen several thick forests. At noon I halted at Berda, which is forty wersts from Karakchaïskoy, and believing that the remainder of the road was as good as that through which I had been travelling in the morning, I continued my journey with the intention of reaching Chahboulak, which is thirty wersts beyond Berda, before night-fall; but I had scarcely advanced six wersts when my progress was arrested by a small river called Khatchinn, which was so greatly swelled by the rains of the preceding days, that we endeavoured in vain to ford it. Nay, one of the Cossacks in his efforts to find a fordable place got out of his depth with his wretched horse, and was carried away by the rapidity of the current, in which he would have been drowned but for

the prompt assistance we afforded him. The Cossacks assured me that these accidents were of frequent occurrence in this place, as the bed of the river not being sufficiently deep often shifted, an inconvenience which might easily be avoided by causing a wooden bridge of a few toises to be erected on its narrowest point.

Having lost more than two hours in seeking a ford, and the evening being far advanced, I was on the point of returning to the last post-house, to procure a guide, when I perceived two Tartars crossing the river on horseback at no very great distance from the place where we were. Having joined them, and asked them to show us the place, they guided us to it, and we crossed without any difficulty, a favour which my servant rewarded by making them a present of a bottle of brandy. In our various attempts to cross, I got so thoroughly wet, as well as every thing contained in my portmanteau, that, being unable to change my clothes, and the night becoming very cool, I arrived at Chahboulak in high fever ; but I experienced from the Cossack officer who commanded this post the kindest attentions.

Chahboulak consists of an ancient tower, which for the better security of the post is surrounded by a rampart, and is situated on a hill

which overlooks the surrounding country. It has a garden, and a fertile meadow adjoining it, which provides sufficient pasture for the horses belonging to this post. On the following day finding my fever a little abated, I set off at six o'clock in the morning, the weather also inviting me to continue my journey. Although the mountains of Karabah were still covered with snow, the temperature was very mild, and as I advanced, the country became more varied, the extent of meadow land, and the number of streams which flow in every direction, showing how well adapted it is for the propagation of sheep, which indeed form the principal wealth of these provinces. A little beyond Oskerane, which lies between Chahboulak and Choucha, we entered a defile, crowned with towers, the sides of which are here and there still formed by the ancient walls, which were forty or fifty toises high. This wall, difficult to turn on account of the steep nature of the surrounding country, doubtless formed a barrier in former times to the interior of the country. Beyond this defile the road becomes almost impracticable, and is a continued ascent as far as the capital.

Eight wersts before reaching Choucha there is a cataract, the waters of which fall from a

height of one hundred toises into a concave rock. I have been told, that during the heavy rains in winter it presents a number of curious jets, which appear rather the work of art than of nature. At the foot of this cataract we were joined by a singular beggar, whom we saw sitting by the side of the road, and whom I could not get rid of, either by giving him brandy or threatening him, until we reached the city, when I gave him some money, and he disappeared. I was afterwards informed by Prince Madatoff that he belonged to a set of vagrants called debritchies, who wandered about these roads and those of Persia, sometimes following the caravans even as far as India. They are almost naked, and have their flesh painted in various colours. They carry a thick club, the ponderous knob of which is studded with pointed flints. These vagabondizing Herculesees, when they approach a traveller, generally present him with fruits, and then follow him, pretending that their company is the best escort he can possibly have in this country ; for they have the presumption to believe that no one dares attack a party who are protected by one of them.

On entering Choucha we found the streets in such a wretched state, on account of the incessant rains of the preceding days, that our horses

were knee deep in mud ; nor can I say much in favour of the general appearance of the city, the houses of which are more meanly built than any I ever saw. General Madatoff, who is a native of this city, had spent immense sums in building amidst these hovels a magnificent house in the European style, which rivals that he has in Teflis ; but as it was not yet finished, he had taken up his quarters at the palace of the Khan, where I found him, as well as the rest of my comrades who had but just arrived, and with whom I shared the apartments which the Khan had prepared for us.

The province of Karabah is bounded on the north-east by that of Elizabetopol, on the south-west by the river Kour or Cyrus, which separates it from Nougha and Shirvan, and on the south-east from Armenia by the chain of mountains seen from Elizabetopol, whilst the river Araxes divides it from Persia. Its great extent and fertility render it, according to the opinion of those who are well acquainted with its resources, one of the most useful and productive provinces of the Russian empire ; and it will become still more so under the equitable and vigorous administration of modern Georgia. That part of Karabah bordering on Elizabetopol may be considered as the only

barren and insalubrious district of this province, the rest being higher, and extremely well provided with good springs, is both fertile and healthy.

The fine sky, pure air, and also the considerable elevation on which Choucha is situated, constitute this city one of the most salubrious of the government of the Caucasus. From the moment of my arrival here I experienced a great amelioration in my health, which I enjoyed during the greatest part of the expedition, and until my return to Teflis. It is a remarkable fact, that the fever which prevails throughout these provinces, attacks or leaves the patient with equal suddenness. These variations are the best barometer to ascertain the temperature of the country. The inequality of climate which is observable in the various provinces of the Caucasus, may be compared to that of Spain; for in the same manner as the rigours of winter are experienced at Madrid when at Malaga, Valencia, and Murcia, the spring flowers are blooming—the inhabitants of Choucha surround the fire-side in the month of May, whilst at the frontier, on the banks of the Araxes, they are gathering in the harvest, and preparing the ground for a second crop.

In no city of Asia is saddle-work done with



more taste and solidity than at Choucha. The most essential part of the workmanship consists of the curious embroidery, with which not only the saddle but the bridle and stirrups are ornamented.

Prince Madatoff, who reached Choucha on the 11th, had already on my arrival there concerted his measures with the Khan respecting the contingent of cavalry he was to furnish, and which amounted to five hundred horsemen, who were now on their road to Daghestan. Being obliged to remain during the whole of the 15th in that city, Prince Madatoff presented us to the Khan, who invited us to dine on that same day with him, our departure for Nougha being fixed for the following morning.

The Khan appeared to be about forty-five or fifty years of age; he was rather tall; and, like the rest of the Tartars, had a brown complexion, brown eyes and beard; but having lost in his youth half his nose in an action with the Persians, the expression of his countenance was by no means prepossessing. At the time of our passing through Choucha, he inhabited a tower in the neighbourhood, which is very pleasantly situated on one of the hills near the road of Chahboulak, and where, as a faithful follower of the prophet, he had his harem.

On our arrival at the tower, we were received at the door by the Khan and his secretary, or minister, who is the only officer of state they usually have, and with whom they might very well dispense, seeing the little need they have of him. On the general alighting from his horse, the Khan took him by the hand and conducted him to an apartment furnished in the European style, where, adopting our fashion, he seated himself in one of the arm-chairs. Behind him stood his secretary, and several other officers of his palace, among whom was the memaundhar, who, according to the custom of the country, must accompany any traveller entertained by his master as far as the frontiers of the province. Wishing to see something of the harem, and imagining that the attachment shown by the Khan for European customs might have diminished the severity which the Asiatics observe with respect to their women, we walked towards a very pretty garden, extremely well attended to, and surrounded with cascades, which we imagined belonged to the harem; but the European taste of the Khan did not extend so far. An impenetrable wall concealed his houris from mortal sight. We however were informed by an Armenian employed in the palace, though not without much

hesitation and trembling, that there were twenty-three ladies, the greatest part of whom were young, and belonged to the families inhabiting the Caucasus. This information, in times when the Khans could decree the death of their subjects, (a right of which they have been deprived since they became tributaries of Russia, their decisions on capital offences being always referred to the tribunals of Teflis,) would have cost the Armenian his head, if the least suspicion had been entertained that he had disclosed the secret.

On our return to the saloon we found the table laid out for dinner in the European style, with napkins, knives, forks, glasses, water-decanter, &c. The Khan then took his seat at the head of the table, placing beside him Prince Madatoff, who acted as our interpreter in the various questions which the Khan addressed to us. When the general informed him that I did not understand any of the oriental languages, and very little of the Russian, as I was a native of a very distant country at the extremity of Europe, the Khan asked what was the name of the *Shah* of the country in which I was born. I mentioned the name of the dynasty, as being more generally known, brief, sonorous, and more easy to be retained.

The door and windows of the tower were assailed by wretched petitioners, who availed themselves of the presence of Prince Madatoff to make their appeals to the Khan. No sooner did we rise from table, at which we did not sit long, owing to the frugality and temperance observed by all on this occasion, than the Khan took his seat on a cushion which was placed at one of the windows of the saloon, the blinds of which were thrown open, and a kind of audience commenced. An old man who had three sons, two of whom had been included in the recent contingent, demanded the liberation of the third, who had been imprisoned for some trifling offence. The Khan granted his prayer, and ordered that a certain number of sheep should be given to him, in order to compensate for the loss he had sustained during his son's imprisonment. Several other petitions followed this, which the Khan graciously granted, a circumstance over which it appears the presence of his guests had some influence, as we had as great a share of thanks as the Khan himself.

The conduct of this prince, in every thing respecting the Russian government, if not sincere, was certainly the most artful of that of any Khan; such at least was the opinion of those who had for many years closely observed him.

We left the tower of the Khan, accompanied by the memaundhar, a young Tartar, extremely active and serviceable, who was an excellent horseman; and also by the secretary of the Khan, and several domestics, who did not separate from us till the following morning. On the first day our way to Nougha lay through the road of Elizabethpol; and we spent the night at Chahboulak, where the servants of the Khan had prepared the tents near the redoubt in which I had sojourned, and where we were served an excellent supper. Prince Madatoff, who always manifested much interest for my health, having learned from me the kind attentions I had experienced from the Cossack officer of the post, invited him to supper. This officer informed us, that one of the two men who had guided me across the river had been found by the Cossacks lying dead near a rock, against which he had fractured his skull. The secretary of the Khan, who had known the deceased, told us, that he had heard of his death from his companion, and that this accident was occasioned by his having drunk immoderately of the brandy given them by my servant.

On the following morning we continued our journey, leaving on the right the road to Elizabethpol. Prince Madatoff rode a very small horse,

which, however, went at such a quick pace, that we were all obliged to ride at a smart trot to keep up with him. Towards noon we arrived at the banks of the Terter, a small river which empties itself into the Kour. Along the whole of this road we found a great number of snakes; which the heat of the sun invited from their holes to sport their variegated skins. But once on the other side of the Terter, the fields being generally cultivated, the traveller is no longer troubled with the sight of these reptiles, and everywhere the country presents fine and verdant prospects.

Two wersts beyond this place, in the direction of the Kour, we came to the hamlet in which the memaundhar had prepared a lodging for us, and a good dinner. This hamlet was surrounded with thick orchards, extending to some distance.

On the following day we started at five o'clock in the morning, leaving the main road, to proceed through bye-paths, which were perfectly practicable for our horses. The heat was overpowering, and the road uneven, but very woody, and abounding with game. On our arrival at the Kour, which through this bye-road was about thirty-five wersts from the hamlet, where we had spent the night, the memaundhar and the

rest of the servants of the Khan bid us farewell. On the borders of the Kour we met one of the Tartar chiefs of the province of Nougha, dressed with more splendour than even the Khan of Karabah, or any of the Tartars of distinction we had hitherto seen. His poniard and his sabre were of very great value, and of most admirable workmanship. The borders of his exterior tunic were beautifully embroidered in gold and silver, the work of the women of the Caucasus. This personage, with some inferior officers, had been waiting for us since day-break on the borders of the river, and had prepared some canoes, made of the trunks of trees, for our crossing the Kour.

## CHAP. XVII.

Romantic prospects—Grand dinner—The knoutt inflicted—Arctche—Delightful Tartar villages—Nougha—Major Badarsky, commandant—The palace—Enchanting gardens—Population—Silk exported—Banquet—Review—Tartar cavalry described—Veteran horseman—His buffoonery—Pictures of Ruustad's exploits—Province of Nougha—Zarab—Tartar sofas and carpets—Hospitable tribes—Officer from Shirvan advances to receive General Madatoff—Encampment of native troops—Orchestra and punchinellos—City of Shirvan—Horses of value in herds—Advance to Fittah—Madatoff's interview with Mustapha, Khan of Shirvan—The Khan's harem—Tent—His ambition—Important conference—Treasures—Humane system of Yermolow—Danger is apprehended at the hands of Mustapha—Georgian captain, an amateur of music—Dinner given by the Khan à la Tartare—Ceremonies—Table service—The pilaw—Children of Mustapha Khan—Madatoff and his officers quit Fittah—Fountain, with Arabic inscriptions—The party ascends the hills of the Caucasus.

THE perspective, which the right bank of the Kour presented, is assuredly one of the most picturesque on the borders of this river. Near the place where we were to land stood a large



and very ancient mosque, surrounded with various kinds of lofty and wide-spreading trees, among which were some laden with wild fruit. This forest extended as far as a line of hills bearing different aspects, some bleak and barren, some covered with a soft verdure, and others beautifully wooded; the prolonged and majestic chain of the Caucasus forming the background.

Prince Madatoff, with our Tartar guide, another officer, and myself, embarked in one of the canoes which, though rowed by only one boatman, took us over in little more than five minutes. The rest of our party were also landed in safety; and as for our horses, they were all unharnessed, and brought by the halter swimming behind the canoes.

We found several carpets spread under the shade of the trees, and some Tartars of distinction assembled there to receive us. We were afterwards served a splendid dinner, according to the fashion of the country, in which the fruits of the season, gathered in the neighbourhood, abounded.

The excessive heat of the day rendered this shady retreat very delightful, and we spent here some hours of repose, which was, however, interrupted by an unpleasant circumstance. It is

strictly enjoined to some Tartar guards stationed along the banks of the Kour, to allow no suspicious person to cross the river. Contrary to this order, a guard had, on the preceding day, permitted one of the robbers who are occasionally met in these provinces, to seize on one of the boats, with which he effected his passage. This fact being proved by some boatmen, Prince Madatoff caused the guard to be brought before him, and ordered the two Cossacks, who conducted him to his presence to give him the knout, which they inflicted in such a manner as to leave the back of the offender in the most pitiable condition. This rigour was not natural to Madatoff; there were peculiar reasons which obliged him to act with severity on this occasion. Three hours after, however, the sufferer presented himself to the Prince with the same sang-froid as if nothing had happened, and thanked him that the lashes had not been more numerous.

We left this pleasant spot at three in the afternoon, and, after an hour and a half riding, arrived at Aretche, a village containing about three hundred inhabitants, twenty-five wersts from the Kour, and situated, as are most of the Tartar hamlets, in the midst of a thick forest. That we might not be so much troubled either

with the heat, the snakes, or the insects, a temporary lodging had been prepared for us in the middle of a small square. It was composed of two wooden stages covered with carpets and cushions, raised one above the other, and supported by pillars, the highest of which was twelve feet from the ground, and to which we mounted by a ladder. Here we made ourselves as comfortable as the place permitted, and had a grand illumination in the evening, with a very good supper served to us; after which, in imitation of our companions the Georgians, whose good humour still continued unabated, we all joined in the dance, which was from time to time relieved by our songs.

Early in the morning we continued our journey, and at a few wersts beyond the village entered a mountainous and barren country, intersected by a river, the waters of which were of a reddish blue, occasioned by a sort of clay which is found in the ravines through which the river rushes. After travelling for five hours, we arrived at a small place called Chorkha, forty wersts from Aretche, where we found the same kind of lodging, ~~treatment~~, and abundance, as on the preceding night.

Our road the next day lay through a populous and well-cultivated country. In one of the

numerous villages we passed by, we saw a promenadc bordered on each side with trees, extending more than a werst towards a mosque, and ornamented with several fountains, which evinced the good taste of the inhabitants. The cleanliness of the interior of their houses contrasted with the filth of those of Choucha, and the general cultivation of the land where rice is grown abundantly, give a favourable impression of the industry and wealth of the inhabitants of Nougha. Some wersts previous to our arriving at the city, we met the commandant of the province Major Badarsky, and some Tartar functionaries, who came to receive Prince Madatoff.

The great number of gardens extending some wersts from Nougha, and the situation of this city, built in the form of an amphitheatre, at the foot of the mountains which join the chain of the Caucasus at no great distance, offer a magnificent perspective. We entered Nougha at ten o'clock in the morning, and alighted at the palace of the late Khan, where apartments had been prepared for us. As the Khan of this province died without issue, in 1819, it fell under the immediate government of Russia, and General Yermolow appointed to the administration and command Major Badarsky, an officer of considerable merit, who without the

assistance of any troop, except eight or ten Cossacks posted there to maintain the communication with the government of Teflis, preserved the greatest order, and encouraged with success the cultivation of this beautiful province. This wise and mild administration, and the diminution of contributions which the inhabitants experience from the moment they cease to support at the same time the avarice of the Khans, and the tribute which they were bound to pay to the Russian empire, essentially contribute to their tranquillity and prosperity. On the other hand the severity observed by General Yermolow for the most trifling faults of his lieutenants, and the good election he generally makes of them, render useless the presence of any troops, whilst the inhabitants feel flattered at seeing that they are trusted by their new government.

The palace of the Khan was built at various times, and by different architects. The principal part of this building, which was occupied by Prince Madatoff, and covered with carpets and tapestry, offered nothing very remarkable. The apartments of the commandant of the province were in the most modern part of the edifice, and consisted of a suite of rooms, adjoining a gallery, the walls and ceilings of which were ornamented

with looking-glasses, bordered by a tasteful foliage, painted and varnished in the Chinese manner, by an Italian who had been employed by the late Khan ten years ago. This gallery looked into a garden, in which there were several cascades, formed by the waters of the fountains by which this gallery was adorned and refreshed. Between the major's and the general's apartments is another garden larger than the former, and opposite to an interior staircase of the harem there is a basin of white marble, ten feet in diameter; which reminded me of that which is seen in one of the Moorish palaces in Granada, where the Abencerages were beheaded. Indeed the climate, the pure sky, and even the situation of Nougha, bear a great resemblance to that part of Spain, although none of the Khans, notwithstanding the wealth they amassed when they arbitrarily disposed of the fate of the merchants and proprietors of the country, has left any monument that can be compared in taste or magnificence with those raised by the Moors in the two principal capitals of the south of Spain.

The population of Nougha amounts to more than forty thousand inhabitants. The great number of Armenians, who have lately established themselves in this province, contribute

greatly to its prosperity, and have set an example of industry to the Tartars, which is by no means general among them. The principal article of commerce in Nougha is silk, which, notwithstanding the large quantity used for shirts and other interior vestments, is much greater than the annual consumption of the country.

On the day after our arrival, Prince Madatoff presented himself at the Divan, accompanied by some of the officers. Above the Prince's seat was placed the portrait of the Emperor Alexander, and beside him were the public functionaries, who, like the rest of the numerous assemblage of Tartars, remained standing during the time that the audience lasted. The Prince explained some doubts respecting the administration of justice in this province, which was the object of this meeting, at the conclusion of which we all repaired to Major Badarsky's, who had invited us to a banquet in his fine gallery.

Opposite to the palace there is an esplanade on which Prince Madatoff reviewed the three hundred horsemen, who formed the contingent of Nougha, and who received orders for their immediate departure for the Daghestan. The commandant of these men was a young Tartar of only three-and-twenty years of age, belonging to one of the first families of the pro-

vince. He had distinguished himself in a similar expedition the preceding year, and held the rank of officer in the Russian army.<sup>1</sup>

It would be very difficult to find in Europe a regular corps whose arms are in better order than those which this contingent presented, most of which were very ancient, as they were the inheritance of many generations. In all the Tartar provinces there are men who have no other means of gaining a subsistence than serving in these contingents as substitutes for those whose agricultural occupations render their presence at home indispensable. These substitutes present themselves ready armed and mounted, and are willing to act as such for a very trifling recompense. Among these came an old man of about sixty, armed with a musket, a sabre, and a poniard, and carrying on the croup of his horse a guitar, a trophy which he had won in a combat he had been engaged in, from which it was stained with blood in various places, and had received some severe cuts, which he had carefully mended. This man, notwithstanding his advanced age, was very active, robust, and gay, and from the first moment attracted the

<sup>1</sup> Among the Tartars the officers, whatever be their rank, are distinguished from the privates only by a silver cord and tassel wound round the hilt of their sword.



attention of all as much for his singular appearance as for his gesticulations and drollery, which at once characterized him as a buffoon. Prince Madatoff ordered him, through one of the Georgians who knew him, to join his domestics, and accompany us in our march, rather to avoid the quarrels which this turbulent old man would occasion in the ranks than to amuse us on our journey with his harlequinades.

During our dinner two very ugly Tartar women, who had been dancers in the harem of the late Khan, performed various dances and feats for our entertainment, with which, however, we could very well have dispensed. But my principal source of amusement was in the pictures which adorned the saloon, and which represented the extravagant exploits of Runstad, an imaginary hero of antiquity, the Orlando of the Persians, the drawing and painting of which were as imperfect as the verses of the ballad that commemorate his valorous deeds are outrageously bombastic.

We left Nougha on the morning of the 24th of May, and directed our course towards Shirvan, the road lying for the most part along the chain of the Caucasus. The province of Nougha is as highly cultivated on this side as on that by which we had entered it. Notwithstanding the

elevated situation of the road through which we travelled, and the snows which still crowned the summits of the mountains, the heat was very oppressive during the whole day, at the close of which we reached Zarab, a small village fifty-four wersts from Nougha. Here Major Badarsky and myself found an excellent lodging, and a very kind reception. Our host, who was an old man, conducted us to a room very well lighted, and covered with the richest carpet I had yet seen in this province. All the furniture in the principal room of a Tartar's house consists of the carpets and cushions, the gold tissue with which they are ornamented weighing more than the wool which they contain. Having taken our seat, we were served with refreshing beverages and fruits, as delicious as they are dangerous for a convalescent. The conversation of the Tartars, particularly when they are with strangers, is by no means animated, even if their language be thoroughly understood by their guests. They seldom ask questions; but they observe all the rules of hospitality with the utmost strictness.

On the following morning I took my leave of my kind host, and of Major Badarsky, who returned to his quarters at Nougha, and proceeded with the rest of our party towards Shirvan. A few wersts beyond Zarab we saw at a

distance, emerging from among the mountains, several Tartars on horseback, who were coming towards us at a sharp trot. The principal of them advanced from the main body, and with a thousand demonstrations of respect informed the Prince, that he was the memaundhar of the Khan of Shirvan, who with his suite composed of about twelve cavaliers was sent by his master to escort us to the capital, and render the homage to which our general was entitled.

The day being fine and cool, and the road good, the general agreed to ride as far as the encampment which, we were informed by the memaundhar, had been prepared for us, and at which we arrived at three in the afternoon, the distance of the day's journey from Zarab being fifty-six wersts. The tents were pitched in the middle of a meadow, watered by one of the numberless streams which flow from the Caucasus towards the Kour. They formed a circle, in the centre of which stood a tent, where an extremely discordant orchestra played a monotonous air for our amusement. A curtain, supported by two wooden pillars, was placed before the tent, behind which two Tartars displayed their punch-inellos, dressed according to the fashion of the country, and performed various adventures analogous to the customs of these people. This

amusement, which is very ancient among them, is considered by the Tartars as the most ingenious public show.

The old veteran, who had joined us at Nougha, and who had hitherto behaved with propriety, recommenced his follies, and taking up his guitar, sang in a voice more loud than harmonious the ballad of the doughty Runstad. Nothing could equal the delight of the memaundhar and of some of our Georgians, who seemed as much enraptured as the bard himself, and who now and then during our dinner remained motionless, and entreated our attention to the fine performance of this modern Orpheus, who thrummed the prodigies of valour of his hero till after midnight.

The valley where we had our encampment lay between Tzakhana, a small hamlet of about forty inhabitants, and the boundaries of Shirvan, which on this side are formed by the rapid streams descending from the Caucasus, and forming the Archipelago which the Kour presents from this province to the Caspian Sea. Early on the following day we entered Shirvan. The country along the road in this province differed from that of Nougha only in its being more woody, and its meadows being more intersected with rivulets; the chief wealth of the country

consisting of sheep and cattle. The memaundhar, who was a great breeder of horses, had, according to his own account, about four hundred colts, and boasted that his master had all his best horses from him, for which he was paid only with a flattering look.

The horses of Shirvan are smaller than those of Karabah. The quality of the soil, generally stony, accounts for their having good hoofs, and for their supporting a good deal of fatigue without being shod; but the habit of riding them whilst they are still colts prevents them from displaying all the force which they would possess, if greater care were taken in rearing them. With respect to the water, climate, and pasture ground, they are pretty nearly the same as those of Karabah. The great number of woods which we saw along our road serve to shelter the horses from the rays of a scorching sun.

In the hope of reaching in the afternoon Fittah, which is the usual residence of the Khan, and fifty-five wersts from the place of our encampment, we continued our journey after our repast. On coming within ten wersts of that city the country is barren, and in some places covered with ruins and tombs, bearing Arabic inscriptions; and the direction of the road, which had hitherto been from west to east, changed towards

the north, and after a considerable circuit we began ascending a hill which extends as far as Fittah. A few wersts before reaching this city, we saw a group of about two hundred horsemen riding towards us in the usual disorderly manner of the Asiatics, several of whom wore casques and coats of mail, and were armed with lances and leather bucklers. When they approached us, a boy of about ten or twelve years of age, the son and presumptive heir of the Khan, presented himself to our general to receive us, by order of his father. The men in armour were officers and noblemen in the service of the Khan, and the rest belonged to his suite. Being now joined by these cavaliers, our pace was considerably quickened, as our Tartar companions kept continually coursing around us, and flourishing their lances and arms, in honour of their guests, until we arrived at the summer encampment of the Khan, which is one werst beyond Fittah.

Within a short distance of the encampment the Khan, whose name was Mustapha, had his harem built of wood in the form of a square, each side of which was two hundred feet in extent. Near this edifice stood a small brick house, newly built, having only one floor, where he received his visitors, and further on were several kivitki destined for our reception, among

which was that occupied by the Khan, where he received us on our alighting.

On our entering, he motioned to his attendants to withdraw, and seated himself on one of the cushions. Prince Madatoff having first given some precautionary orders, and sent to our tents all our officers, Prince Orbellanoff and myself excepted, commenced a long conference with Mustapha, which was by no means an agreeable one for the latter.

Mustapha Khan was about fifty years of age, tall and corpulent, and of a robust constitution, which did not seem much impaired either by the numerous wounds he had received, or by the remorse which he ought to have felt for his numberless crimes and continual intrigues with the court of Persia. According to general opinion, founded on the great revenues of this province and on the economy observed by the Khan, he had in his coffers more than 600,000 ducats, which in this country is considered a great sum. At the time of the late treaty of peace between Persia and Russia, this province was incorporated with the latter, and consequently its Khan became tributary to Russia.

From that moment Mustapha became the greatest enemy of the Russians, who have often detected him in various clandestine dealings

with Persia and other enemies of the government. His desire of swaying despotically, more than his religious fanaticism, caused this hatred, which in our army had gained him the appellation of *the bearded serpent of Shirvan*. He was moreover a near relation and an intimate friend of the Khan of Kazykoumyk, against whom our expedition was intended; but towards which he was obliged to furnish four hundred cavalry, the contingent of his province. It may, therefore, be easily conceived how insincere his conduct must have been on this occasion; but as it was the constant system of General Yermolow never to show any mistrust of the Tartars, General Madatoff was instructed to make no difference in the inspection of this from the two other provinces; neither would it have been just to make the people of Shirvan responsible for the conduct of their chief.

From what Prince Madatoff was kind enough to tell me, Mustapha had during the audience used every endeavour to convince him that the Emperor Alexander had not a more faithful subject to defend his interests, nor General Yermolow a more sincere friend to co-operate in the pacification and prosperity of all those provinces, than himself. Whilst saying this, he repeatedly placed his right hand now on the hilt of his



poniard to denote force, and now on his breast in token of friendship.

The audience being interrupted by the kalion, which was brought to us to smoke according to the fashion of the country, the Khan invited us to dine with him on the following day, and we took our leave.

As Prince Madatoff had good reasons to fear for his and our safety during the night, and as we were without an escort, the general from the moment of our arrival proposed that every one of us should perform duty around our kivitki, there being every thing to apprehend from the audacity of Mustapha, and from the facility with which he might take refuge in Persia with his treasures and his women. On the first night, however, our watch was not very strictly kept, owing to a young Georgian captain, who amused us during the evening with his guitar. This young man, who belonged to an excellent family of Teflis, was the only Russian military gentleman residing in the province of Shirvan. He was placed near the Khan to maintain the correspondence relative to the administration of this province with the government of Teflis. His situation, so entirely isolated, recommended him to Prince Madatoff, who was naturally attached to his own countrymen, and

who invited him to spend his time with us during our sojourn in this province. He played on the guitar with a taste and execution worthy of a country more musical than his own. This circumstance, which indeed was here his best resource, had greatly recommended him to the Khan, who like all the Tartars was passionately fond of music.

On the following day, the Khan came to Prince Madatoff's kivitka to pay him a visit, and afterwards conducted us to his own, which was thirty yards distant. Mustapha was as much attached to the ancient customs of the country, as the Khan of Karabah had affected to be to those of Europe. As this was the first dinner entirely in the Tartar fashion at which I had been present, I shall attempt a description of it.

The company consisted of the Khan, the general, most of the officers of our party, and of three of the principal individuals belonging to the family of the Khan, who were all about his own age. These three personages remained standing until the Khan permitted their sitting down to dinner. For the rest, we all sat down on the carpet as soon as we entered the kivitka. Before dinner was served, three attendants came in, the one bringing a silver basin and ewer, the

other a flagon of rose-water, with a perforated gold lid, and the third a cotton napkin of various colours. Having all successively washed our hands, commencing by the Khan and the general, and had them sprinkled with the odoriferous water, several other attendants entered bearing salvers, and presented one to the Khan, which contained his dinner and that of General Madatoff, the rest being distributed among us, one salver between three.

Each salver, which was about three feet in diameter, had in the centre the pilaw, or solid part of the repast, consisting of rice, which, after having been boiled and dried, is boiled again at a slow fire, with bits of mutton, butter, dried fruits, and saffron, and afterwards served in a plate in the shape of a pyramid of about a foot high. An Asiatic takes with three fingers of his right hand a portion, which before eating he kneads into various shapes, and tears the meat with his fingers and teeth. The bread, which is made into extremely thin cakes, and is very slightly baked, serves him as a napkin, and sometimes as a spoon. During his repast, as on horseback, he never takes his left hand from his side, a fashion which is invariably observed by the people of *bon ton* among the orientals; but which gives them the air of fanfarons.

Round the pilaw are placed roasted poultry coloured with saffron, and various dried and other fruits of the season. As a substitute for wine, they have whey, and a beverage made of water, honey, and dried fruits. These drinks are served in large bowls, which have wooden ladles to help oneself with.

On the attendants removing the salvers, the remains of which, to judge by the eagerness with which they carried them away, doubtless fell to their share, the same ceremony of washing the hands was repeated; and indeed when we consider the service which our fingers had performed, it became an indispensable ceremony. Several kalions were afterwards brought, which passed from one to another, as is customary among persons who are on amicable terms.

On this singular banquet being concluded, the Khan put on a fur dress, as if we were in the middle of winter, to guard against the bad effects which the least cold produced on his wounds, and conducted us to the borders of a large pond, which was in progress, and formed in the cavity of the two hills on which Fittah and our encampment were situated. There he had the patience to remain a whole hour, look-

ing at the works, and extolling the great importance of this project, which by its inutility was really contemptible. During this time his attendants alternately presented to him a great number of children, whom he had had by his numerous wives. He particularly caressed one of about two years old, whom he for a long time carried about in his arms. In a field near this pond we saw about one hundred camels which belonged to the Khan.

Towards the close of day the Khan left us to withdraw to his harem, whilst we remained in our solitary encampment, each in his turn watching, in the silence of a dark night, the approach of suspicious men, who roamed about our tents, and who, together with the camels, kept us every moment on the alert, increasing the disagreeableness of our watch.

Prince Madatoff, having concluded his affairs in this province, fixed our departure for the following morning, and we took leave of Mustapha, who received us in his palace at Fittah, where, besides his secretary, we met various other personages, among whom was the Beck, or chief of the district by which we were to leave the province, and who had arrived on the preceding day to pay his respects to the general. The

Khan could scarcely conceal his desire of delaying our departure for some days, and gain the time he so much wanted for the accomplishment of his own ends; but the contingent of cavalry of this province having obeyed the orders of General Madatoff of proceeding to the Daghestan, Mustapha had no pretext to urge in favour of his wishes.

Fittah became the capital of Shirvan twelve years ago, when the celebrated Chamekhia, its former capital, was laid in ruins, at which time the Khan transferred his residence to the former city, and was followed by all those who survived the disasters to which this province has been a continual prey. The present population is computed at 28,000 inhabitants. The road from Fittah (which we left on the 28th, at nine A. M.) to Southern Daghestan lies along the foot of the Caucasus, in an eastern direction, for more than fifty wersts, which is about the distance from that city to the boundaries of the province. During our day's journey, we met a great number of shepherds and nomade families, who with their flocks were removing from the plains, where the heat at this time of the year is excessive, to these elevated lands; and we halted for the night near some ruins,

where there was a fountain of excellent water, having three jets, several relievos, and some Arabic inscriptions. The Beck, who accompanied us, informed us, that this fountain had belonged to a summer palace of the Khans of Shirvan, which had formerly stood near this spot, and which, like so many other places, had been laid waste during their continual wars.

The Beck caused several large fires to be made, in order to render our night encampment more comfortable, and had some sheep brought from the flocks in the neighbourhood, which he amused himself with killing with his poniard. His Tartar attendants then cut the meat in small pieces, and, putting it on wooden skewers of four or five feet long, roasted it at our fires. This manner of dressing the meat is general among the Tartar soldiers, who, in default of skewers, use the ramrods of their long muskets.

Whilst the Beck and his people were employed in preparing our simple but wholesome supper, we were all sitting round the fountain, listening to the music of the Georgian officer, which in this romantic spot was really delightful.

On the following day we left our bivouac at dawn, and parted from our musical Georgian,

who returned to his post; and as some of the individuals of our party were well acquainted with our road, Prince Madatoff dispensed with the further attendance of the Beck and his suite, and we commenced ascending the steep paths of the chain of the Caucasus that separate Shirvan from Daghestan.



## CHAP. XVIII.

The Khana or province of Bakou—Abundance of naphtha—Guebres—Persians and Hindoos worshipping fire—Tenets of Zoroaster's followers—Phenomena of naphtha—Forests—Bridge over a frightful chasm of the rocks—Gorges of the Caucasus described—Magnificent and valuable timber—Ysa Beek—Rich lands—Chess a favourite game of the Tartars—Veterinary practice—Town and province of Knba—Craggy banks of the Kulinka—Baron de Wrede the commandant—Ravines—Jealousy of the Kubans Gregorieff, commissary-general—Madame Gregorieff—Ashan Khan joins the Russian expedition—Scotch missionaries—The Bible translated into the Tartar and Eastern dialects—The troops march from Kuba—Cherry-trees—Bivouac—Fields covered with rose-trees—Abundant game—A large and exquisite partridge—Delightful province—Ashan's cavalry is headed by his valiant brother—Description—Town of Tchiakour—Park of artillery—Handsome females—Rich carpets of Tchiakour—Difficult passage of the torrents—The troops march for the Daghestan.

ON leaving Shirvan through the rocky defiles of the Caucasus, the Khana of Bakou is left on the right. This province, which became subject to the Russian empire at the time of the tragic death of Prince Tchitchianow, though the small-

est of any in the government of Georgia, is nevertheless one of the most productive to the government; not only on account of the advantageous situation of its capital, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, but for the great abundance of naphtha found throughout the province. An Armenian pays an annual rent to the government of 200,000 roubles, paper money, for the produce of a certain number of wells. The greatest part of this article is exported to Persia, and the remainder is used in the country to preserve the roofs of the houses and other buildings.

In the vicinity of Bakou are still found some families of Guebres, or ancient Persians, and of Hindoos, who worship a Supreme Being under the symbol of fire. There is a place about twenty wersts from that city where the priests of Zoroaster still maintain, by means of the naphtha, the primitive fanaticism of the fire-worshippers. Those priests, who have no other clothing than a piece of linen round their waists, pretend that the sacred fire commenced burning on that soil some millions of years ago; but as it seems they believe in the universal deluge, they must resort to some miracle to have preserved this flame from the inundation, especially as they have never inquired into the physical causes that produce the naphtha. According to their belief,

the Supreme Being cast Satan into those gulfs, from which immediately flames issued, which the Guebres are enjoined eternally to preserve. Notwithstanding their fanaticism, they do not hesitate in cooking their victuals by that fire, which they light in the same manner as gas, by applying a torch to the cavity made in the earth. The flame is extinguished by placing on it a wet cloth. There are springs, or pits, which produce daily more than half a ton of naphtha. In summer, when the southern winds increase the heat of the atmosphere, strong oscillations are experienced on that soil, and various phenomena witnessed.

To return to our journey. Our road on that day lay across the chain of the Caucasus, which we must traverse to enter the Daghestan. The torrents in this part of the country were not so swollen as in other places of the Caucasus; but the road was greatly impeded by the enormous fragments of rocks, which the impetuous rains and thaws had detached from the mountains, and by the thick forests which appeared as if no hatchet had ever cleared any part of them, and which obliged us to proceed part of the way on foot. On the most elevated point of the road, where we hoped to have conquered the principal obstacles, we met with an enormous fissure of

about 40 feet wide and more than 3000 deep, over which is a rustic bridge, formed simply of three trunks of trees covered with branches not more than three feet wide, and having no balustrade or railing of any kind.

Prince Madatoff, who always took the lead, and who rode on a small poney, on reaching this bridge did not hesitate in passing over it on horseback, an example which we were all obliged to follow, lest we might subject ourselves to ridicule. It is, however, impossible to describe the sensation experienced on crossing this frightful gulf, down which the rider and his horse must inevitably have been hurled by the least mistake or hesitation in either. When all our party had crossed without any accident, one of the officers asked General Madatoff the name of the bridge, to which he replied, that the most appropriate he could think of was, "Beelzebub's bridge." As we were the first Russian officers who had ever passed that way, and as there was not the slightest trace of footsteps on horseback, it was not surprising that the government should not have ordered a more convenient one to be constructed. Our descent, notwithstanding the brisk pace at which we rode, occupied us for two long hours. The forests were so thickly studded with trees, and

the mountains bordering the road so steep and close to each other, that though it was but eleven in the morning, and the day bright and sunny, we travelled, from the moment we left Beelzebub's bridge, as if it were through a cavern. At the foot of these lofty hills the road still continues, though gently sloping through a country progressively widening, but fenced on each side by thick forests, the trees of which are of extraordinary dimensions and beauty. When an enlightened despotism, the only system which seems adapted to the actual state of that country, shall bring the industry of those provinces into life, the forests of the Caucasus will supply abundant timber for the dock-yards of Bakou and other ports, and be their principal source of wealth. The finest trunks of Asturias and of the Segura in Spain, used in the construction of the ships of war, which are reckoned the most solid that float on the ocean, cannot be compared in breadth or height to the gigantic trees which are seen in these forests.

On leaving them behind, we entered the province of Daghestan, on the frontiers of which we met a Tartar officer, whose name was Ysa Beck, who with several others was coming to meet us. The country from this point to Kuba appeared like a prolonged garden, the variety

and productions of which every moment reminded me of my native land. Half an hour after being joined by those Tartars, we arrived at a hamlet called Khilbar, where lodgings had been prepared for us by Ysa Beck in an old mosque, which for many years had ceased to be a place of worship. The distance from our night's encampment to Khilbar is fifty-six wersts, which had occupied us sixteen hours without having halted any where.

Under a portico close to our quarters we saw some Tartars deeply engaged in playing at chess, a game which is familiar even to the lowest class in this country from the remotest antiquity. We spent the night in the only saloon formed by the nave of the mosque, whose vaulted roof was lighted by various lamps. The voracious appetites of the party being appeased by the pilaw, the boisterous mirth of the Georgians, and the twanging guitar of the Tartar ballad singer of Nougha, prevented our taking scarcely any repose.

One of my horses of the race of Karabah, which possessed all the good qualities general to his breed, having stumbled on the road and sprained his hip, Ysa Beck recommended me a Tartar who was celebrated for the wonderful cures he had performed. Desirous of seeing the

process, and anxious for the preservation of an animal that was to share with me the fate of our campaign, I spent the night in observing both the patient and the leech. The remedy consisted of a decoction of various succulent herbs and a good portion of salt, which he repeatedly applied to the inflamed part, and then covered with a sheepskin half shorn, the woolly side of which was placed inwardly. There is no doubt that the warmth of the skin must have greatly contributed to the rapidity of the cure, which is generally effected in four or six hours, according to the degree of inflammation.

At five o'clock on the following morning we started for Kuba, through a road alternately bordered with orchards and gardens. The heat was here as excessive as that experienced in the plains of Castile in the month of July. Having travelled during the whole morning without halting any where, we reached Kuba about noon. This city is the ancient capital of the Khana bearing its name, and when it became a province of Russia, was named the capital of the Daghestan. It is, however, by no means so good a town as several others of this district. The streets are so narrow as scarcely to allow a vehicle to pass through, and the city is surrounded by an ancient half-ruined wall, near

which runs the river Kulinka, whose steep and craggy banks give it a barren and wild aspect.

Our party alighted at the house of General Baron de Wrede, who was then the commandant of that district, and at whose house Prince Madatoff and myself took up our quarters during our residence at Kuba. My friendship with Baron Renemkamph, who was a countryman of General de Wrede, powerfully recommended me to the attentions of the latter, who, however, displayed an unbounded hospitality towards every one of our party. From the gallery of the house of the general are seen a number of picturesque ravines, with which the Caucasus is on this side intersected; but which add to the dismal appearance of the city. Nothing but the intimate union of the Russian military and civilians can render supportable a residence in Kuba; for commerce has hitherto made so little progress here, that even those persons who have resided long in Georgia cannot help remarking the want of active intercourse among the natives. This, however, is also more or less observable in all the Tartar provinces bordering on Georgia. At Teflis both sexes are indistinctively met in the houses and in the streets; but in these provinces the one acts as jailor to the other, and



whether it be in society, in the public promenades, or in travelling, not a woman is to be seen; but when this occurs, we scarcely recognise in her a being endowed with the same faculties and entitled to the same rights as her oppressors, for we only see some moving object concealed under drapery. Mustapha Khan, during our residence at Fittah, gave orders for a young Circassian woman, who was on her way to his harem, to be kept concealed in the mountains until our departure. The jealousy of these men, indeed, is preposterous, and seems to extend even to the thoughts of others, without considering that there can be no offensive intelligence existing between a mere spectator, and a woman who from head to foot is so completely enveloped as not to allow the least part of her person to be seen, and who, moreover, is guarded by men whose summary mode of punishing effectually prevents the least scrutiny on the part of the spectator. The prophet enjoins the faithful to be heedful of their religion and their women, and to this precept, fanatically observed, must be attributed their excessive jealousy.

The house which our party most frequented at Kuba was that of the commissary-general Gregorieff, who with his amiable lady resided in this city. The society of Madame Gregorieff,

dressed in the European style, and possessing the accomplishments and attractions of a well-educated woman, was a novelty so highly valued by us that we could find but little time to examine the ruins, ancient medals, mineral and botanical productions, fine horses, precious arms, and other curiosities which render this country so interesting to a foreigner. The distance of our respective countries, and the remote and isolated place where our acquaintance was formed, drew closer our social ties, and I may say, without any exaggeration, that a minute of intercourse in this country is equal to a year's companionship in Europe. Two hours after our arrival at Kuba, our party were such intimate friends with the resident Europeans, that a stranger might have supposed we were all members of the same family, when if instead of having met those individuals on the borders of the Caspian Sea we had seen them on those of the Vistula we might perhaps not have remembered their names. Nor were the attractions of European manners less felt by General Madatoff, who evinced as much pleasure as any of us in the society of Madame Gregorieff. This lady, who had a great taste for botany, shared with her French gardener the care of forming an

extensive nursery for a botanical garden which she had projected.

On the day after our arrival at Kuba, the 31st of May, whilst we were at dinner, we heard the trampling of horses, and soon after two personages, who were to figure in a distinguished manner in our expedition, made their appearance, accompanied by a numerous retinue. One of them was Ashan Khan, the chief of a small province adjoining Kuba, and situated between this, that of Derbend, and Kazykoumyk, the province against the Khan of which this expedition was intended. He was a man of about forty-five years of age, and of a portly presence; and was to be invested with the authority of the revolted Khan. The other, who was a brother to Ashan Khan, and considerably younger, possessed a truly fine person, and all the qualities of an Asiatic champion. He was the commandant of the strong contingent which his brother brought into the field, and the personal enemy of the Khan against whom he was going to fight, and from whom he had received injuries which among the warriors of the Caucasus are never forgiven.

Both brothers had rendered important services, and given evident proofs of attachment to

the Russian empire. They were both decorated with the cross of St. Wladimir, which they seemed proud of wearing at their breasts, free from all religious prejudices. General de Wrede invited these two brothers and some of the nobles of their suite to partake of the repast, an invitation which they accepted without the least scruple, indiscriminately taking their seats among us, although this was the time of abstinence prescribed by the religion of the prophet. This neglect, however, may be attributed to the perceptible change which was operating in their religion, as we had reason to believe from their frequent perusal of the Bible, which has been translated into the various languages of these nations, and which is continually distributed by the Scotch missionaries of Circassia and Astrakhan, sent into those countries by the London Bible Society. These respectable clergymen, who have found in General de Wrede a zealous friend, and who moreover enjoy the entire protection of the Russian government, have endeared themselves to the natives by a conduct truly exemplary, whilst their estimable families on their side do every thing in their power to second their laudable endeavours.

Ashan Khan, who had heard many favourable accounts of these missionaries, always carried

with him a copy of the Bible, which he had received from General de Wrede, and for which he appeared to have the greatest veneration, a circumstance which greatly increased the esteem in which he was generally held by the Russians.

The troops of our expedition were encamped at a day and a half's march from Kuba, in the direction of the province of Kazykoumyk. The park of artillery, arrested by the difficulties of the road, was stationed at Tchiakour, a hamlet on the right of our road in the direction of Derbend, and waited the orders of Prince Madatoff. The contingents of Nougha, Karabah, and Shirvan, which almost all arrived at the same time in the neighbourhood of Kuba, were ordered to join the encamped troops, whilst 100 Cossacks, and the whole of the cavalry of Ashan Khan, remained at Kuba to accompany the general on his departure. The convoy of provisions, so embarrassing in a march, though indispensable in a country affording but few resources, which were considered insufficient even to the frugality of the Russian soldiers, was intrusted to the commissary Gregorieff, who received on that afternoon orders to depart.

On the 1st of June at break of day, the brother of Ashan Khan commenced his march at the head of all his troops, who soon after were

followed by the squadron of Cossacks. At six in the afternoon our party left the city accompanied by General de Wrede and several of his officers, who as usual escorted us part of our way.

The cultivation of the fields in the vicinity of Kuba, is by no means such as its rich soil appears to merit; but the thick foliage of the lofty trees with which the road is bordered, shelters the traveller from the burning rays of the sun. During our residence at Kuba, the heat at ten o'clock in the morning in the shade, was 30° Reaumur, a degree of heat which in the Havannah is scarcely greater in the summer months. Towards dusk we arrived at a pleasantly-wooded valley, near a hamlet belonging to a Tartar, who invited us to his house, an offer which the general declined, and we bivouacked surrounded by the squadron of Cossacks under some cherry-trees heavily laden with fruit.

On the following morning, we left our place of bivouac with the rising sun, and proceeded through picturesque fields, covered with rose-trees. The exquisite fragrance emitted by them, and which the morning dew rendered more fresh and grateful, the varied warbling of a multitude of birds who had their nests in these delightful bowers, and the sight of several cascades whose

playful waters leapt from their steep summits, produced on every sense an indescribable feeling of delight. One of the nobles belonging to the suite of Ashan Khan made me a present of a small flagon of oil extracted from these roses, and which, when some months after I compared with the best otto of roses of Turkey, surpassed it in fragrance and delicacy.

Beyond these woods of roses spreads an extensive forest, so much abounding in game, and doubtless so little pursued by the Tartars, that notwithstanding the noise of our numerous group, we frequently had within the reach of our whips the largest partridges that are perhaps met with in any country. Having weighed one of them taken alive by a Tartar, it exceeded thirty-two bullets of an ounce each, a weight which, considering the lightness of the flesh of these birds, is really extraordinary. The flavour of the partridges of the Daghestan is, according to the opinion of connoisseurs, superior to that of the pheasants found on the borders of the Alazann.

After halting for a short time in a meadow watered by a clear rivulet, where in all appearance the battalions of the expedition had encamped, we were overtaken by the cavalry of Ashan Khan, who had bivouacked on the preceding night at a short distance in our rear. It

is not possible for any of the Tartar provinces to present a more splendid contingent than that brought on this occasion by Ashan Khan. Whether it was the interest felt by these troops at entering on a campaign in which they were eager to avenge on their enemies the vexations they had experienced from them; or whether the enthusiasm by which they were animated in having at their head the brother of Ashan Khan, who according to the general opinion was the most valiant warrior known among the Tartars, and at whose war-cry hundreds were ready to join him; or whether Ashan Khan, free from the religious fanaticism of the Mussulmans, had laboured to draw his people from the obscure condition in which, like the rest of the Tartars, they had been sunk for ages, by giving them the benefits of a better education, a more regular organization, and more just notions of religion; certain it is, that the 800 men of light cavalry who were extremely well mounted and armed, and whose martial air and cheerful countenances evinced the pleasure they felt at this enterprise, formed an assemblage of warriors the most perfect that could be found in these provinces.

When one of our officers mentioned to Ashan Khan the splendour of the personal guard of Mustapha Khan, he said that when he was



among his people, he did the same as Yermolow in his bivouac; namely, that he was his own guard; that when he issued against his enemies, he was followed by all his people, and even his own children, though some were not more than six years old, a truth which I shall soon have an opportunity of confirming; and that the Emperor might reckon upon him as he did upon the cross that hung on his breast. Ashan Khan and his brother, however, though companions in arms, and both men of superior minds, could not endure each other, and nothing but the fear of displeasing the general-in-chief seemed to keep their wrath within bounds. The latter avoided as much as possible to join us in our march, as he was averse to exchange words in a conversation where his brother took a part. All the nobles of his province by whom he was surrounded were armed with lances, made of long and light canes, like those of the Coords of Persia; they wore also casques, coats of mail, and round shields, which, though very ancient, were as bright as if they had been just made. This armour is among them the best proof of their noble lineage, and serves as their letters patent. Whatever they possessed of value, useful in war, they wore about their persons, and they appeared to consider this campaign as the most

important in which they had ever been engaged, not only because it involved their nearest interests, but because they saw it supported in a manner that seemed to insure its success.

The weather on this day was as hot as on the preceding ones, and the road occasionally intersected by the ravines descending from the chain of the Caucasus, which was on our left. At ten o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Tchiakour, a town containing about 1000 inhabitants, and where, as has already been mentioned, the park of artillery was stationed. The town, which is considered very healthy, is situated on the heights which command the impetuous torrents, called by some, of the Koura, and by others of the Zamaour, whose breadth, at all times considerable and in many places dangerous, was in this month greatly increased by the thawing of the snow on the summits of the mountains, which, according to the accounts of the natives, would swell the torrents in proportion as the heat became more intense. This circumstance retarded our departure from this place, as it was necessary that our artillery should cross the Zamaour; and as the rapidity of the torrents, which bore along large trunks of trees and fragments of rocks even as far as the Caspian Sea, rendered any attempt to construct

a bridge impracticable. The whole of the afternoon was therefore spent in endeavouring to find a ford, and as night was fast approaching without our finding one, we were obliged to suspend our vain efforts until the following morning in order to avoid any misfortune.

Having heard at Kuba the beauty of the women of Tchiakour highly extolled, and desirous of ascertaining the truth, we made various lawful incursions into the town to explore the rare beauties it contained. Much to our satisfaction, we found that we had not been misinformed, and moreover that by their intercourse with the officers of artillery stationed there they had lost much of their native rusticity, which frequently destroys the favourable impression which their fine persons excite.

The interior of the houses in Tchiakour is generally clean and comfortable, and their carpets, the manufacturing of which is their chief branch of industry, are of a superior quality, their colours being as bright and permanent as their patterns are tasteful.

On the following morning at day-break, the Zamaour having decreased half a foot, Prince Madatoff gave orders for our departure, and the train of artillery and ammunition commenced their march, Ashan Khan resigning to them

the guide, in whom he had the greatest trust, whilst our party at the head of the cavalry followed in single file our own guide, who was a native of the town, and who, fearful of our encountering some accident for which he might be made responsible, showed considerable timidity. From the moment we commenced crossing the torrents, the water was up to our saddles, and our horses got entangled with the trunks and branches that floated about, whilst the breaks and stones of the uneven soil greatly increased our difficulties, which were still more numerous when we attempted to climb the steep and rocky banks that interposed themselves in our passage. On leaving these banks we again immersed in this apparently interminable sea, in which we made so little progress, that even after struggling for two hours with the torrents, Tchiakour was still within cannon-shot, and though we commenced fording at five o'clock in the morning, it was past ten when we reached the opposite shore.

The scenc which so many men scattered over that wide sheet of water presented, in their various dresses, uniforms, and armours, and the peculiar attitudes of each in endeavouring to preserve his arms from the water, was highly

picturesque and interesting for the spectator, though somewhat irksome to the actors.

The continual wars of which the Daghestan has been the theatre must at all times have been rendered memorable by these impetuous torrents, in which, notwithstanding the good order and precautions we had observed, we lost two men and six horses. At length being all assembled at eleven o'clock in the woods which extend along the bank, we began our march, and soon after entered the territory of Ashan Khan.

## CHAP. XIX.

Arrival at the encampment of Prince Madatoff—Preparations of Surghai Khan—The command of the cavalry is intrusted to Ashan Khan—Review of the Tartar contingents—Prince Orbellanoff—Dissension between Ashan Khan and his brother—Visit of the youthful sons of Ashan to Prince Madatoff—Military operations—Description of the town of Kourah—Fortress of Chiragh—Deficiency of timber—Inhumanity of the Lesghis—Advance upon Joserek—Position of Surghai Khan—His cavalry described—Attack made by Ashan's horse—Ferocity of the combatants—Death of Ashan Khan's brother—The enemy's cavalry routed—Preparations for a general attack on Joserek—Camp of Surghai Khan—Perilous post of the author—He successfully leads his column to the assault of Joserek—Surghai Khan flies—The Lesghis—Their arms and warfare—Their intrepidity—Conduct of the Russian soldier in action—His devotion—The author meets with a Tartar horseman, formerly of Napoleon's Mameluke guard.

ASHAN KHAN, to whom our presence in his territory so lately invaded by the enemy was a subject for congratulation, had prepared refreshments for us at the first village we came to, which were served in the Asiatic style, in a

gallery commanding a beautiful prospect, and shaded with luxuriant vines. Here we made a short stay, and arrived in the afternoon at the encampment of our troops.

Prince Madatoff received under the shade of a wide-spreading chesnut-tree, near which his tent had been pitched, the chiefs of the various contingents then assembled. The artillery, which followed in our rear, joined us at day-break, and a review was fixed for the following day.

Our camp, the situation of which was highly advantageous on account of the abundant pasturages, woods, and excellent water in its vicinity, commanded a view of the whole eastern part of the Daghestan, at the furthest extremity of which we could clearly distinguish Derbend, and the line of coast along the Caspian Sea.

From the moment of our arrival at this encampment, Ashan Khan received frequent intelligence respecting the movements of the enemy, the import of which was, that Surghai Khan, the chief of the insurrection, on learning the advance of the Russian troops towards his territory, had ordered his own to concentrate on the frontiers, whilst he still continued his vain endeavours to oblige the Russian garrison in the fortress of Tchirah, which was eighty wersts from

our camp, to surrender; that he had ordered all men capable of bearing arms to join his army, enacting the severest punishments in case of disobedience, so that it already amounted to more than 40,000 troops, of whom 7000 were cavalry; and that he was fortifying Joserek, the most impregnable position in his province, for which purpose he availed himself of the artillery which had been left there by the Persians, in some of their incursions, and was determined to defend himself to the last.

By the order of the day, the cavalry was placed under the command of Ashan Khan, who held the rank of colonel in the Russian army. Prince Orbellanoff and the rest of the Georgians employed in this expedition were also to act under his orders, circumstances which occasioned some angry scenes between the two rival brothers, and to which I shall soon have occasion to advert.

On the morning of the 4th, the various battalions of our expeditionary army were assembled at the appointed place. At the head of our line was the artillery, and at the opposite extremity the whole of the Tartar cavalry, formed in such regular order as is by no means common among the Asiatics, in whose martial countenances the pleasure they felt at the inspi-



ring sounds of our military music, so well adapted to produce a deep impression on their fantastic imaginations, was strongly depicted; whilst the beauty of the spot on which the review took place, and the fine weather, imparted to it additional splendour.

Our force consisted of twelve field-pieces, belonging to the eighth brigade of the army, two of which were served by Cossacks of the Terak, who in every respect answer the object for which they are destined; of the second battalion of grenadiers of Georgia; of the second and third of Absaron, line; of two more of light infantry; of the squadron of Cossacks; and lastly of the 3000 light cavalry, to which the various Tartar contingents amounted. The similarity in equipment of these troops with those of the enemy, and the confusion which this might occasion, rendered the adoption of some distinctive mark necessary, and Ashan Khan caused the whole cavalry to wear a branch of broom in their caps, or casques, in the manner of a plume, which for their own preservation they wore during the whole campaign. The custody of the convoy, which was coming from Kuba towards our encampment, was intrusted to the troops stationed in the Daghestan, under the orders of Baron de Wrede.

Prince Madatoff, accompanied by several of the officers of the staff, went in the afternoon to visit Ashan Khan in his tent, which stood in the centre of the encampment. Here we found him engaged in such a violent dispute with his brother, that neither of them took the least notice of our approach, which had been announced to them by their nobles. Long before reaching the tent we had heard the loud and angry clamours of the brother of Ashan Khan, who sat opposite to that chief, and was in a frantic fit of rage, which is not at all uncommon among the choleric Asiatics. His eyes flashing fire, and foaming at the mouth, he tore open his tunic with tremulous hands; and presenting his naked bosom to his brother, whom he branded with a thousand opprobrious epithets, said that he had not the courage to plunge his dagger in his breast. Ashan Khan meantime listened to all his taunts without condescending to return an answer, every feature of his countenance expressing the utmost scorn.

The brother of Ashan Khan was reputed, and believed himself to be, the most valiant warrior of his country. He was indignant that the command of the cavalry should have been given to Ashan, when he considered himself as the only one worthy of the chief command. Unwilling to complain of this to Prince Madatoff

himself, he commenced by challenging his brother, who with the utmost prudence had hitherto avoided a rupture, but finding that his outrageous conduct and abuse availed him not, frantic with despair, he asked for death at his hands. This he did with such an infuriated countenance, and violence of manner, that when we attempted to part him and his brother, it seemed as if we were struggling with an enraged lion. As it generally happens in similar cases, they both had partisans among their people ; but as Prince Madatoff previous to our visit to Ashan Khan's tent had nominated his brother to the command of the vanguard, this wrathful Achilles no sooner learned this appointment than he declared himself satisfied.

Surrounded by a family wholly devoted to arms, Ashan Khan was every moment obliged to struggle against similar incidents.

In the evening, whilst we were still at dinner in the tent of General Madatoff, two little boys, armed from head to foot with weapons proportionate to their age, entered the tent. They were two of the sons of Ashan Khan, and his immediate heirs, who having learned our arrival at the encampment, which was at some distance from their place of residence, had induced their tutor to conduct them to head-quarters to crave Prince Madatoff's intercession with their father

that he might allow them to take an active part in our operations. The eldest, who was about ten years of age, and whose mien was truly martial, having been deprived of the use of one leg by wounds received two years before whilst fighting beside his father, was unable to walk without crutches, and could not mount or alight from his horse without assistance. The other little doughty hero was scarcely seven years old ; he offered an excellent representation of a Tartar punchinello, and stood in need of the same assistance as his brother. They both, however, advanced towards Prince Madatoff without either timidity or embarrassment, and declining to sit down, or take any thing, stated in few words the object of their visit.

Ashan Khan had but a few minutes before set off with the cavalry to bivouac a few wersts in advance of our camp. Prince Madatoff however, far from acceding to the request of these two singular veterans, endeavoured to dissuade them from it ; but finding his arguments unavailing, he threatened them with their father's displeasure, and ordered the tutor and the remainder of their suite to conduct them back to their father's house. On hearing this command, they both burst into a fit of passion, stamp their little feet, and bit their lips with rage, tears starting from their eyes,

which, as they withdrew to mount their horses, flashed angry glances on the company, who had been highly amused with their solicitation. This martial zeal is the more singular in the immediate descendants of the Khans, as, in the event of losing the use of any of their limbs, they forfeit the right of inheritance to the Khana, as was the case with the eldest, who by his lameness saw his right pass to his next brother, a circumstance which on account of its injustice seems deserving of notice.

On the morning of the 5th, the great convoy from Kuba, which during the two previous days had overcome the principal obstacles on the road, being now within a short distance of our encampment, orders were issued for our departure. We commenced our march at three in the afternoon, descending the height we had occupied, and pursued our road occasionally through defiles, and an uneven country tolerably well cultivated and inhabited, till we reached an extensive valley ten wersts from the camp, where we bivouacked.

Although Prince Madatoff was well aware that the enemy, having retrograded to their frontiers, would not attempt to intercept our communications, especially in a country the inhabitants of which were so much attached to their Khan

that every individual was a voluntary spy, he gave orders to the brother of Ashan Khan to send detachments to scour the country on both sides of our route. The discipline of our soldiers had a salutary influence on that of the Tartar legions, whose respect towards Ashan Khan was undiminished, either by the difference of their native provinces, or by the irreconcilable enmity of the two brothers.

On the following morning, the troops continued their march. Though the summer season was fast advancing the weather was pleasant and cool, a circumstance which was to be attributed to the elevation of the country, and to the proximity of the snowy summits of the Caucasus, which was to our left, and parallel with our line of road.

Kuragh, the usual residence of Ashan Khan, was twenty-five wersts distant from our place of bivouac, and had a Russian garrison destined to protect the city against the incursions of the enemy. The rugged nature of the road had, during the whole morning, so greatly impeded the progress of our *matériel*, that notwithstanding the assistance given by two of our battalions to take the field-pieces over the steep rocks which obstructed the road, it was evening when we reached Kuragh.

The cavalry of Aſhan Khan established their bivouac a werst beyond the city, and the rest of our troops before its walls. Our head-quarters were fixed at the house of the Khan, from the gallery of which we had a view of the two encampments, and of a great part of the road on our rear, along which we could distinguish the head of the great convoy coming from Kuba, which notwithstanding the obstacles above mentioned was now approaching Kuragh.

Aſhan Khan, foregoing the comforts which his house afforded, bivouacked with his troops; and sent frequent intelligence to the general respecting the movements of the enemy, the correctness of which, as his spies were unable to penetrate into the revolted province, could not be relied upon. This circumstance, joined to those I have already hinted at, seemed to establish the presumption, that our campaign would be no less arduous than protracted. It was also to be feared that, our operations would be greatly embarrassed by our convoys. To obviate this difficulty, the general resolved to form his great depot at Chiragh, a fortress, which by its proximity to the enemy's country, was well adapted for this purpose. Wishing, therefore, to see the convoy safely deposited in that fortress, he issued orders for the different corps to

remain in their present encampments till they should receive further instructions.

On the morning of the 7th the convoy, which owing to the indefatigable exertions of the troops that escorted it preserved an excellent order, having arrived at Kuragh, we proceeded with it towards Chiragh, which, though within forty-five wersts of the former city, we reached only on the 10th at noon. As we had all left our tents at Kuragh, and as beyond this place neither trees nor shrubs of any kind are to be met with, our bivouacs were rendered doubly unpleasant, the only fuel we had consisting of straw and a calcareous earth mixed together and formed into the shape of bricks, which required much trouble and attention to keep burning. If by chance any cart of the convoy became unfit for service, it was immediately cut to pieces and carefully preserved by the escort for their night fires.

The fortress of Chiragh, although very imperfectly constructed, was deemed of great importance in that country with reference to the enemies against whom it had to be defended. Its fortifications are extremely ancient, and it crowns the summit of a small mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf. The Russians repaired and furnished it with three pieces of ordnance,



and a garrison of one hundred men under the orders of a captain. The village of Chiragh, which contains about a hundred and fifty inhabitants, stands at the foot of the fortress in the form of an amphitheatre.

Some months previous to our arrival here the Lesghis had succeeded in surprising in the village a Russian serjeant and two granadiers, who having descended from the fortress to procure bread for the detachment, were attacked by a multitude of Lesghis, who, favoured by a thick fog, had penetrated into the village. Obligated by overpowering numbers to retreat, the three soldiers took refuge in the mosque, where they defended themselves with the utmost courage until the Lesghis, having forced their way into the interior, obliged those poor wretches to shut themselves up in the tower, which their enemies blew up, and rent asunder. The three veterans remained unhurt, and continued to defend themselves in the standing section; but being totally exposed to the fire of their barbarous enemies, they soon fell lifeless to the ground. Their heads and limbs were then shared among their assassins, who in their fury smeared their hands and faces with the blood of the Russians, that their triumph might be more highly valued and rewarded by their Khan.

The garrison of the fortress, who had been unable to give any assistance to their unfortunate companions, did not let any opportunity escape of avenging their deaths: on our arrival at Chirax, we found two standards taken from the Lesghis by the detachment, which a short time back had made a sortie against a thousand of those barbarians.

On the night of the 10th our vanguard bivouacked in the enemy's territory at three wersts distance from our encampment. The Tartar soldier always takes his repose dressed and ready armed, his hand grasping the bridle of his horse, who, like his master, spends whole months without being an instant unharnessed. The cavalry of Ashan Khan was on one side of our encampment and half of our artillery on the other, so that we were protected from sudden attack. In this state we remained the whole of the following day and night, without receiving the least intelligence respecting the true movements of the enemy, who had not shown himself on any of the points to which our advanced posts had reached.

The troops did not fail to profit by this interval to clean and prepare their arms; the formation of the depot which was to be established at

Chiragh was soon completed, and placed under the custody of the two battalions of light infantry. Orders were then issued to the rest of the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march into the enemy's country on the following day.

The officer commanding the garrison of the fortress presented himself to the general in the evening to request permission to join one of the battalions, that he might take an active part in punishing the enemy for the horrible death of his fellow soldiers, a petition too honourable and praiseworthy not to be granted.

Our field of operations on the following day, June 12th, was to be before Joserek, which is twenty-six wersts from Chiragh, where according to all accounts the enemy was intrenched. As we had no chart of the country, and as neither Ashan Khan, his brother, nor any of their zealous comrades, had ever penetrated as far as Joserek, notwithstanding its short distance from their territory, and their occasional incursions into the enemy's country, all we knew of that important position was from the incorrect and traditionary accounts of some of our Tartar allies. With respect to our staff, we ourselves being the first European officers who ever trod that country, we had absolutely no foundation whereon to ground our plans.

By day-break all our troops were ready to march, when Ashan Khan presented himself to Prince Madatoff to communicate to him the intelligence he had just gained from two Lesghi prisoners taken during the night by one of his brother's advanced posts. According to these men's report, the whole of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by one of the sons of Surghai Khan, was at no great distance from our little army, whilst the Khan himself was at the head of the remainder of his forces amounting to 40,000 men. He occupied a line of redoubts spreading for a considerable extent before Joserck, the fortifications of which were to be defended by the *élite* of his infantry. The Khan, moreover, had resorted to every religious artifice and the most tyrannical measures to compel his people to make a desperate resistance.

Although there was a thick mist, which in this country is very common, we commenced our march at five o'clock, the cavalry at the head of our column, and the artillery in the centre. The road from Chiragh to Joserek lies between two ranges of hills. That on the left is a branch of the Caucasus, and, though as we advanced it became higher and higher, it is not so steep and difficult of ascent as that on the right, which extends from near Chiragh to

Joserek, and on the summit of which is an esplanade, occasionally very narrow, terminating within a very short distance of the last-mentioned city. On these heights we saw at six o'clock A. M. as soon as the fog cleared, the first group of the enemy's cavalry, in the midst of which waved the standard.

Prince Madatoff, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position, ordered our whole column to accelerate its march; and the brother of Ashan Khan to proceed through the first accessible path with the entire vanguard to dislodge the enemy from the heights on our left. This movement, which was performed with an incredible order and rapidity, though unsupported by a single bayonet, and highly perilous in such abrupt and broken ground, was well suited to the agility of the Tartar cavalry.

Yakouwovitch and myself, who were the only two cavalry officers near Prince Madatoff's person, took a part with Ashan Khan's brother in this movement. The enemy, who crowned the summit of the hills in very superior numbers to our own, received us on our approach with shouts and repeated discharges of musketry, which twice obliged us to fall back and rally. The individual scenes which the fury of these Tartar

enemies presented occasionally engaged our attention, and these conflicts were the more frequent, as little or no unity of action could be expected in cavalry charges, which, being made in such a rugged place, could prove successful only by the personal courage of the combatants. Among innumerable other instances, I saw one of our party and a Lesghi fight even in their last agonies, and in their ferocious struggles tear each other with their teeth, and, tightly grasped together, roll down a rocky precipice; the horses, which their masters during the fight continued to hold by the bridle, being likewise dashed into the abyss below. Another Lesghi, giving his horse to the care of a comrade, crawled down the steep sides of the rocks to cut off the head of his enemy, and present it to the chief by whom he had been armed.

At length, at the third charge, we broke through the enemy's lines; but the continual charges that followed as we pursued them to the foot of their intrenchments were the more bloody, as every inch of ground was defended with a desperate bravery, their unremitting fire causing us much loss. We had thus far executed the operation intrusted to us, and succeeded in engaging in action all the enemy's cavalry, putting them to flight, when the brother of

Ashan Khan fell pierced through the heart by a musket ball, into the arms of some of the nobles who surrounded him, and who saw with anguish this brave man expire like a true Tartar warrior, urging them to avenge his death. The shot by which he fell, it is asserted by some of his followers, was aimed by the son of Surghai Khan, who had purposely lagged behind to be more sure of his prey. Be this as it may, the truth is that such a loss, which among European troops would have caused but little interruption, nearly paralyzed our movements, and checked our success at this critical moment. The Asiatic custom of wailing over and lavishing carresses on the corpse of the slain chieftain, gave the enemy time to rally, and furiously charge the cavalry of Karabah, which, to prevent them from assuming the offensive, performed prodigies of valour. Whilst I rode at the head of these troops, I observed a Tartar decorated with the legion of honour, of whom more hereafter.

General Madatoff, who was watching our movements from the road that ran parallel with the field of our operations, soon perceived the sudden reverse occasioned by the death of the brother of Ashan Khan, and galloped to the spot; whence he sent orders to the third regiment of Absaron, commanded by Major Martini-

engo to perform a flank movement on the right of the enemy's cavalry, whilst he rallied our almost disordered troops, who now, by a unanimous impulse again taking the offensive, charged the enemy. The latter being at this moment thrown into the utmost confusion by the explosion of several ammunition-cases which had been just sent them by Surghai Khan, Major Martiniengo, who with his infantry had by great exertions gained those steep heights, taking advantage of the accident, vigorously pursued the enemy, and made himself master of the first intrenchment, which supported the left of their line, where it was easy for him to check and punish the enemy should they attempt any attack on that side.

From these hills the whole line of redoubts and fortifications, as well as Surghai Khan's camp, were distinctly seen. His tent was adorned with several standards, and surrounded by those of his nobles, also covered with silks of various colours, beside which stood a multitude of horses kept in readiness, and further on several groups of infantry, which appeared to constitute the enemy's reserve. These various objects, joined to the confused movements of their troops and occasional racing of a part of their cavalry, while they offered a highly animated scene, disclosed to



us their resources and means of defence. In such a post, however, their cavalry could be but of little service.

The left wing of the enemy having been disabled by the movements above mentioned, and the locality of the position occupied by the centre rendering all offensive or defensive operations in that quarter of little avail, the next point of attack was Joserek, the ramparts and intrenchments of which served as a *point d'appui* to the enemy's right, and was in fact the basis of their whole line. If the right wing were once defeated, a flank movement might be easily executed, and the victory insured to us.

At about ten A. M. Prince Madatoff gave orders to Major Martiniengo to maintain at all hazards the advantageous position he had taken, and placed there 1800 horsemen to act as a rear-guard to his troops. He also issued orders to Ashan Khan, who with the remainder of the cavalry was advancing by the principal road after defeating all the enemy's troops he had met in his way, to send without delay a few companies to enable some of our officers to reconnoitre the fortifications of Joserek. Meantime our platoons continued advancing, and having halted on a hill which commanded the fields of Joserek, the general observing that the

enemy was vigorously pursued by the cavalry of Ashan Khan, and was precipitately retreating towards the ramparts, made his dispositions for a general attack.

Our forces were divided into four columns, the first of which, composed of the grenadiers of Georgia under the command of Major Sisianoff with four field-pieces, was to support our left, and act as a reserve. The second and third columns, supported by six field-pieces, which were commanded by the captain of artillery Frigil, consisted, the one of the first battalion of Kourin under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue, and the other of half of the second battalion of Absaron, commanded by its lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff, were to advance through the principal road to the city, and form our centre. The fourth column, composed of the other half of the second battalion of Absaron, and supported by two field-pieces, was to open the attack on the redoubts which united the left of the fortifications with the heights. Prince Madatoff honoured me with the command of this column. Ashan Khan received orders to withdraw his advanced posts, and station himself before the cemetery opposite to Joserek.

At one P. M. we opened our attack upon the city ; at two the firing was very brisk, and well

sustained throughout the line. On the fourth column approaching the redoubts, which were within a short distance of the steep mountain on the left, the enemy opened a cross fire on our flank, sheltered by a natural parapet of steep rocks, which prolonged themselves, and joined the elevated part of the fortifications. Behind these the enemy had studiously concealed a body of infantry, who hoisted their standards only when we came within their reach. Placed between two fires, and on a ground the unfavourable nature of which prevented our making any use of our two field-pieces, against whose train the enemy chiefly directed their destructive fire, our only resource was an immediate assault, for which I made every disposition. But on the general-in-chief perceiving the imminent danger in which we stood, he sent to me Prince Beboutoff with orders to delay the assault until the battery of the centre, which was just beginning to play on the trenches that were in front of us, should render it more practicable.

This order, which a few minutes before would have been very seasonable, was at this critical moment extremely difficult to obey, as the column was within sixty paces of the parapet, completely exposed to the enemy's fire, and eager for the assault. The third column having

fortunately executed a flank movement with a rapidity equal to the danger of our situation, and which rendered the success of my intended operation less doubtful, I gave the signal for the assault. My soldiers intrepidly rushing towards the redoubts, mounted them by means of corpses and knapsacks, and in less than ten minutes we rendered ourselves masters of the principal intrenchments of Joserek, from which we vigorously pursued the enemy, driving them from post to post, until seeing their communication with the heights cut off, their ranks began to give way, and they were soon put to flight. Shortly after reaching the mosque, which was the last place where the enemy attempted to make a desperate resistance, Lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff reinforced us with his column, and we immediately took possession of the building. Following up our success, the standard of Absaron soon waved on the last ramparts of Joserek, our military band hailing the signal of possession.

The path leading from the city to the camp of Surghai Khan lying between steep rocks, our soldiers proceeded unobserved, and rapidly crowning the heights fell on a great part of his forces, who, far from attempting any resistance, abandoned every thing that might impede the most

hasty flight. The other columns successively entered Joserek by different directions, easily overthrowing an enemy who, terrified at the success of our troops, were flying with the utmost precipitation.

Ashan Khan, at the head of his cavalry, adopting the most prudent line of policy, lightly punished those of the enemy who attempted to seek their safety through the plains, whilst Major Martiniengo, judiciously issuing from his position at the moment of our assault, charged the left of the enemy. Their cavalry immediately took to flight, and joined their fugitive Khan, trampling down all who impeded their progress, and rendering more disastrous the defeat of their friends.

For the space of six wersts the ground was strewn with the corpses of doubtless the most vigorous and valiant men of the Khana, and with horses, arms, standards, and spoils of every description, which added to 1000 prisoners, to the complete possession of Joserek so important by its position and fortifications, and to the entire dispersion of Surghai Khan's army, rendered our victory truly memorable.

The loss we experienced was sufficiently serious, especially as among the dangerously

wounded and the dead there were some officers of high merit, and some of our bravest soldiers.

Towards the close of the day, Prince Matdoff gave orders for the columns that were in pursuit of the enemy to return, and caused all our troops to assemble in the plains close to the walls of Joserek, where our bivouac was established. The two battalions of Absaron, who had so much distinguished themselves on that day and whose standards waved on the ramparts, were received by the general in the most flattering manner; the high but merited encomiums he bestowed on the soldiers being the more gratifying to us, as they were expressed in the presenee of the assembled troops, and in sight of the place where our efforts had been crowned with success.

The care of the wounded engaged our attention the whole of that night, during which the wretched sufferers experienced much inconvenience from the unprovided state in which we found the houses of Joserek, stripped by the enemy even of the doors, which were used by them as means of defence. A wise policy made us respect the mosque, which was the only place that had not been despoiled by the enemy in that desolate city, from whose

numerous caverns and subterraneous passages issued every moment people of all ages, who had sought refuge in those vaults, which with a less generous enemy would have become their sepulchres. The terrified inhabitants met from our patrols, to whom the mildest conduct had been enjoined by the chiefs, a reception very different from that which might have been expected from the excited feelings of the soldiery, or the empire of force.

The wounded enemies who had survived the unavoidable fury of such close encounters, were intrusted either to the care of their women or of their own pastors, under the immediate inspection of one of our surgeons. The prisoners were liberated at midnight at the intercession of Ashan Khan, to show them that our arms were not directed against the oppressed inhabitants, but only against their tyrannical prince.

Some detachments of cavalry were posted in the various avenues to Joserek, and every other precautionary measure for our safety being adopted, the general issued orders for a review on the following day.

Such were the operations of the memorable 12th of June, against an enemy consisting of perhaps the most warlike of the tribes of the Caucasus, but who were equally rash and igno-

rant. I shall here add a few observations respecting their arms and means of defence, which will in some measure account for the irregularities that took place during the battle.

The Lcsghis, like the greatest part of the Tartars, although mountaineers, are the worst foot soldiers of the East. Passionately fond of the horse, which they consider in the light of a companion, with whom they must share the glory of their exploits, or the shame of their disasters, they pay no regard to the practical lessons they receive every time they measure their strength with European infantry. They even attribute the success of artillery to the horses that draw it. Skilful in the use of every kind of arms, and especially in the musket, which though of a smaller caliber than ours is considerably longer, and consequently reaches much further, they take the surést aim, whilst their fire, though always without unity, is so brisk and well sustained by the multitude who confusedly crowd the intrenchments, that it is perhaps almost as destructive as artillery. This is the reason of their disregarding the latter, though Surghai Khan had some ordnance in the interior of the country, which might have been used with advantage at Joserek, and of which more hereafter.



Once in close quarters with their enemy, they sling their long though light muskets on their backs with a certain martial elegance which they acquire from their earliest infancy, and grasping their long and broad dirks, with which they skilfully parry the cuts of the sabre or thrusts of the bayonet, they rush on their enemy to give or receive the mortal blow. This manner of defence is the more destructive, as besides its being desperately maintained by those who fill up the vacant places, the rest of their comrades who are not within reach of the soldiery, dart at them their envenomed steels with a surprising dexterity and good aim, though this means is resorted to only on the point of flight. It is impossible to conceive a more silent and deadly scene than that which offers itself on an assault against these men, who are as vigorous as they are undaunted, and who, if they were to act with uniformity, would render the capture of any intrenchment equally sanguinary and difficult even for the bravest European legion.

Their masses, always irregular, dread when they are unsheltered the effects of the artillery, but when protected by natural or artificial parapets, the cannon though well served does not impress them with much fear. On the contrary, immovably fixed at their posts, they re-

solutely wait for the assault, and fight to the last, their clamorous fanfaronades confounding themselves with the more harmonious sounds of the military bands of their adversaries.

A musket, a pistol, and a poniard of exquisite workmanship and inlaid with silver or gold, a dress adorned with lace and embroidery, and a standard bearing an inscription drawn from the code of their prophet, and grasped with all the arrogance and haughtiness peculiar to the Asiatics, form the distinctive marks of most of their chiefs.

On the other hand, the Russian soldiers, unexcited by any spirituous liquors, with which the troops of other nations are often treated previous to engaging in battle, make the sign of the cross,<sup>1</sup> and immovably fixing their eyes on their leader, follow him in the most profound silence, unanimous in their impetuosity, constant and imperturbable in danger,—qualities which in military nations are the exclusive patrimony of perfect discipline. Frugal and patient under privations as they are submissive,

<sup>1</sup> As a proof of the religious feeling of the Russian soldiers, I still preserve a cross which one of these brave fellows devoutly delivered to me a little before he expired in one of the ditches of the first intrenchment we attacked during the morning.

they spend the whole day in battle, and at night a ration of bread or biscuit and a draught of water from the nearest brook, suffice to allay their hunger and thirst; whilst the bare ground for a bed and their knapsack for a pillow, relieve their fatigue.

The Tartar whom I had seen in the morning decorated with the cross of the legion of honour, and whom I had desired to seek me after the battle, presented himself to me at night, whilst the groans of the wounded and the *qui vive* of the sentries alone interrupted the silence of our bivouac. I asked him if he spoke French, to which he affirmatively answered me in that language. "Who gave you that decoration?"

"The Emperor, at Wagram," he replied; "and to-day I should have won another had he seen us."

He then drew from his bosom a parchment pocket-book that hung at his neck by a silk cord, and in which he had his diploma. This he put into my hands that I might examine it, and afterwards continued his narrative, which, though amusing, was greatly spoiled by his outrageous boasting. He spoke of Spain, of Madrid, of the *Plaza de la Cevada* (where criminals are executed), of his exploits, and lastly

of his amorous adventures, especially with a woman, an orange vender, of the name of Colasa, whom he described in a manner that seemed to place the truth of his narrative beyond a doubt. This man belonged to the corps of mamelukes who followed Napoleon from Egypt, and who were afterwards incorporated with the imperial guard. He had been present with his squadron in Madrid, and taken an active part in the sanguinary proceedings of the memorable 2nd of May, 1808. I then questioned him in Spanish, and received very pertinent answers in that language, delivered with a vivacity and jocularity which made me overlook his ridiculous boasting. In fine, this singular personage was made a prisoner in Russia during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and restored to his native country, Karabah, where, whenever that province assembled its contingent, he came forward either for himself or as a substitute for any who disliked the service.

Neither Prince Madatoff, though he was his countryman, nor Beboutoff, nor any of my other comrades, entertained any opinion of this man; on the contrary, they disapproved my being either generous to or communicative with him, on account of the excesses of cruelty he had been guilty of, and the want of discipline he

had shown in other expeditions. But as during the time he was beside me in the morning I did not remark in him any thing either very good or very bad, I desired him to keep near me whenever his duties permitted. This request he carefully attended to, and I derived much advantage from his knowledge of the language and customs of the country, and from his explanations of the most remarkable and interesting events that followed the proceedings of this day.

## CHAP. XX.

Effects of the clemency of the Russians after their victory—Kazykoumyk shuts its gates against Surghai Khan—Surghai deposed—His people are willing to swear allegiance to the Emperor Alexander—Rich arms and costume of the venerable hostages—Ashan Khan elected prince of the conquered province of Kazykoumyk—The Russians march to that capital—Intricate roads—Description of the country—Deputation—Presents to Prince Madatoff—City of Kazykoumyk—Installation of Ashan Khan—Tartar mode of signature—Cruelty of Surghai Khan towards his subjects—Mustapha Khan flies from Shirvan to Persia—Prince Orbellanoff's journey to Teflis by a new route—General Madatoff after his victory evacuates the province, leaving it under the authority of Ashan—Services performed by this feudatory Khan in the late war with Persia.

To the warlike tumult of the preceding day succeeded the calm of peace and security; and the 13th dawned in all the splendour of a spring morning in those eastern regions. The kind treatment which the prisoners experienced from us not only allayed the alarms of the natives, but produced the most favourable impression.

Ashan Khan, who with the principal part of the cavalry had bivouacked before Joserek, received frequent intelligence of the occurrences which were taking place in the interior. From all accounts, Surghai Khan, who had hitherto endeavoured to impress on his people the belief that he was invincible, by causing his astrologers to spread about predictions favourable to his ends, was fast losing ground in the minds of all his subjects, who were now preparing to deprive him of his authority.

The fugitive Khan rode with all possible speed from the field of battle to Kazykoumyk, the capital of his Khana, sixty wersts distant from Joserek; but unfortunately for him, the news of his defeat having preceded him, he found the gates of the city shut against him and the adherents by whom he was followed. In vain he declared his name and the motives of his sudden presence there; he was refused admittance in a tone and under such pretexts as too clearly presaged an approaching termination of his supreme power. Maddened at this refusal, he burst forth into threats, which were no longer attended to. At length a few elders, whose popularity he had often dreaded, appeared on the ramparts and advised him to pursue his flight, it being the firm determination of the people to treat him as

an enemy, should he persist in demanding admittance into the city.

Surghai Khan, who had not sufficient courage to follow the fatal example set him by some of his relations, of perishing by his own hand rather than survive such an affront, was dismayed at the intimation he received, and proposed a thousand humiliating conditions, which were all disdainfully rejected; at length he received as a favour his women, and an escort that should afford him protection as far as the frontiers. Thus bereft of his power, the defeated Khan now directed his flight towards the mountains, followed by his concubines and some scores of children who composed the flock of his harem, leaving in the memory of his countrymen only the most atrocious mutilations executed on the persons of his most faithful adherents, (as we had frequent opportunities of observing in the wounded and prisoners we had taken,) and a country smarting under the inflictions of his rapacious and barbarous tyranny.

The inhabitants of this province, unlike the Kabardines and Tcherkesses, are not a freebooting race. They love war, like all the inhabitants of the Caucasus; but they also know how to value the benefits of peace, especially when a prudent prince, turning his attention to



commerce, renders manifest to them its advantages, by allowing the merchants, who from Daghestan and Astrakhan trade with the tribes of the interior, a safe passage through his territory, without laying too great a duty on their merchandise. The ambition and intrigues of Surghai Khan, therefore, though they had compelled them to commence hostilities, were far from being approved by the majority of the people. Hence on the day after the battle of Joserck, the public voice, hitherto repressed by his violent measures, loudly pronounced itself in favour of his overthrow. Besides, as any further resistance would probably have led to the entire ruin of their caravanserais, homes, and families, they prudently yielded to circumstances, and weighing how far they were entitled to the generosity of the conquerors, established a provincial government, the direction of which (in conformity with the ancient usages of these tribes) they intrusted to some of their most respected old men, who immediately sent three of their members to Ashan Khan, imploring his mediation to conclude a peace, and offering their allegiance to the Russian government.

While these important events were passing in the capital, prince Madatoff reviewed our troops, and continued to take those precautionary mea-

asures which our uncertain situation still required. Our infantry had experienced a loss of nine officers and three hundred privates, between killed and dangerously wounded; and the loss of the cavalry amounted to double that number. Orders were issued for the immediate removal of the wounded (who had but very indifferent quarters and scarcely any accommodation at Joserek) to the military hospital of Kuragh; whilst the corpses that were strewed about the field, the trenches, and the streets of Joserek, were buried, each according to the rites of his religion. The body of the brother of Ashan Khan was removed with some pomp to the capital of the province where he had chiefly resided.

At three in the afternoon the emissaries sent from the capital by their colleagues to Ashan Khan arrived at our encampment, and were immediately conducted by that prince to the general's tent, where, on the preliminaries of their treaty being settled, they spontaneously offered themselves as hostages to secure the performance of the contract. The general acceded to it; and Ashan Khan, giving another proof of the wisdom and good policy he had shown throughout this expedition, placed himself at the head of the embassy, and made

common cause with them ; thus setting an example of reconciliation between his old and future subjects, which could not fail to produce the most beneficial results.

The emissaries, who were all men of an advanced age, circumspect in their manners, and martial in their mien, were dressed in rich attire, and had about their persons arms of the most exquisite workmanship, in which the Tartars in general seem to place all their vanity. The firearms of the whole party were not only loaded but primed, a circumstance which among Europeans might have led to some sinister interpretation of the real intentions of the emissaries, and cost them their heads ; but which among these people, far from concealing any perfidious design, is considered as a mark of that respect which they are bound to observe on these occasions.

According to some of the articles of the treaty, the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Alexander, the proclamation and investiture of Ashan Khan, and other subsequent acts, were to take place in the capital. The approaching solemnity was the more flattering and satisfactory to that prince, as, besides his being elected by the people themselves, he was confident that a short time would be sufficient to efface from their memories the

momentary humiliation they had experienced, and render their province one of the most flourishing of the Caucasus, its large population advantageous situation for the interior commerce, and wealth, especially in flocks and cattle, encouraging these high but well-grounded hopes.

On the evening of the 13th the general-in-chief gave orders for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to proceed at day-break towards the capital, with the exception of a part of the cavalry, who were to remain at Joserek to protect that point. ~

The thick fog so prevalent in these mountainous districts, prevented our marching out as early as we had intended. Five wersts beyond Joserek we passed through a small but neatly built village, whose inhabitants were seen standing on the flat roofs of their houses, looking tranquilly on, and apparently much struck with the novelty of our artillery, the carriages of which were really the first vehicles that had been seen in that country for many ages back. The obstacles we met in transporting our train of artillery, as we penetrated further into the interior, were so numerous, both on account of the abrupt nature of the country, narrow and broken paths, and of the wide trenches which

Surghai Khan had caused to be made in order to prevent our progress into the country, that we were obliged to unharness and dismount the pieces and the ammunition-eases, and intrust them to the care of 100 infantry, who with the greatest labour and exertion carried them as far as a valley three wersts beyond the above-mentioned village, where the general, weighing the inconveniences they might occasion, gave orders for the third battalion of Absaron to remain behind with eight of the field-pieces out of the twelve that composed our park of artillery, until further commands. After this arrangement, we proceeded with only four pieces of artillery, and bivouacked, fifteen wersts from Joserek, on the path leading to the capital.

The Lesghi emissaries, who accompanied us in our march, seeing the little progress we made in our journey, sent their dependants and servants to the villages near the road with orders for all the inhabitants to work during the night in filling up the ditches on the road, and to give their assistance to our soldiers on the following day in transporting the artillery. Indeed, we found these men unremitting in their exertions to serve us, and procure from the natives every thing we stood in need of, from the

moment of our departure from Joserek till our arrival at the capital.

Fifteen wersts before reaching Kazykoumyk we met an ancient stone bridge of a single arch, extremely lofty, which had no balustrade, and was so very narrow that it just fitted the wheels of our field-pieces. This was for us an additional proof that we were the first who from time immemorial had penetrated into this country with carriages of any kind, that bridge being the only means of communication between the frontiers and the interior. In proportion as we advanced we became more convinced how arduous, protracted, and painful, the possession of this abrupt country would have been for us, had the chief of the insurrection enjoyed the love of his people and made the least resistance.

When we came within ten wersts of the capital, we were met by a deputation sent from the city to welcome the general. The aspect of the country in the neighbourhood of Kazykoumyk is barren and uninteresting, thinly populated, and with scarcely any trees, the cultivation of which is entirely neglected by the natives through some prejudice or caprice which I have not been able to ascertain ; so that though we were in the pleasantest season of the year,

and within a short distance of the Daghestan, the territory of which is one prolonged garden, we had neither fruits nor flowers, nor singing birds, nor cool and pleasant shades that might afford some relief to the weary traveller, who is here exposed to the rays of a scorching sun. Numerous herds of cattle, and a great abundance of barley and rye, constitute the principal wealth of those fields and valleys.

On our drawing near the city gates, another deputation came out to receive us with standards and poles decorated with branches and devices, and presented to the general the keys of the city, borne on a rich salver, containing some boiled rice in the form of a pilaw, of which, according to the established customs of these nations, he was to taste, and at the same time accept a beautiful horse superbly caparisoned, a gun, a pistol, a sabre, a poniard, and a rich suit of armour, which they offered as tokens of peace and perpetual alliance.

Prince Madatoff, to whom these honourable gifts were the more flattering as he received them at the hands of those whom he might consider as his countrymen, delivered an harangue in their own language with all the pomp of expression and vehemence of action peculiar to the Asiatics, in which he made known to them

the conciliatory views of Alexander, in the name of whom his troops had advanced as far as their capital with no other intention than to add to the solemnity of the installation of the new prince whom Providence had sent them.

The huzzas and boisterous joy that burst from the large concourse of people who had followed in the rear of the deputation on the general ending his animated harangue, demonstrated in the most unequivocal manner that the proposed change was highly popular, and likely to produce lasting advantages to both parties. The enthusiasm manifested by all precluded the possibility of their ever returning under the oppressive yoke of Surghai Khan, of whose atrocious acts we had before us melancholy evidences in the disfigured countenances and mutilated limbs of those by whom we were surrounded, and on whom the tyrant himself had practised his barbarities.

On our arrival at the palace, which was neither elegant nor sumptuous, we ascended a wide staircase, adorned like the galleries and saloons with rich tapestry and gold tissues; and having accompanied Ashan Khan to the hall of audience, the general and the rest of the officers withdrew, leaving the prince in the midst of a circle formed by his new courtiers and nobles,



with whom he was to concert the first measures required for taking into his hands the administration of public affairs. The general then gave orders for having his tent pitched outside the city walls, and establishing a bivouac, strictly forbidding the military from entering the town.

Lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff and myself having been invited by Ashan Khan to take our collation with him, we re-entered the city in the evening, when we found it illuminated, and the people thronging the avenues to the palace. In some of the towers that flanked this building, there were several pieces of ordnance, which had been carried there from the frontiers on the shoulders of men by order of Surghai Khan, for the double object of intimidating his tyrannized people, and using them in his intended defence of the city. These pieces of ordnance, which as I have already observed had been left on the frontiers of that province by the Persians in one of their incursions, though they were placed on wooden forms instead of gun-carriages, might have been used to some advantage in defending the capital.

In the course of the evening Ashan Khan informed us, that during his conference with the elders he had ascertained that their sentiments and those of the people at large, were highly

favourable to the object of our expedition ; that is, to his being invested with the supreme authority of the province ; and that he had also learned every thing connected with the present state of the country, the wants and wishes of the people, their means and resources, military, agricultural, and commercial ; in a word, all that which a prince, who wishes to identify himself with his people and is anxious only for their prosperity, ought to know.

Our troops were the first foreign forces who, from the remotest period, had penetrated into the interior of this province. The Persians themselves, even at the time when they were most successful in the extension of their dominion, had not dared to invade this fierce and warlike nation, whose love of independence forms their strongest characteristic. The presence of the Russian troops, therefore, was a motive of uneasiness to the elders, who from the first moment of their interview with Ashan Khan made to him a candid avowal of it. Their apprehensions, however, had been greatly allayed by the conciliatory words which Prince Madatoff had addressed to them at the city gates, and which passed from mouth to mouth till they spread with the rapidity of a telegraphic despatch to the remotest corner of the province ;

so that twenty-four hours after they were known even to the shepherds of the mountains, and crowds of people were hourly arriving at the capital to witness the installation of their new Khan, and participate in the general rejoicings.

Meanwhile Surghai Khan, having lost all his partisans, and meeting every where with humiliating refusals from those whom he had so cruelly exasperated, and to whom he now appealed, sought a refuge in a small province (the only one in the Caucasus to which the Russian arms had not reached) situated between that of Kazykoumyk and that of the Tchetchenkis, where, according to the accounts received by Ashan Khan, he would not remain long, his intention being to pursue his flight either to Persia or to Turkey.

During the whole of the 16th the rain fell in torrents, and rendered our bivouac (in which the only tent to be seen was that of the general) extremely uncomfortable. But on the morning of the 17th, which was the day appointed for the installation of Ashan Khan, the weather cleared up, and our troops were able to appear in all the splendour which the importance of that solemn act seemed to require.

At eleven o'clock the doors of the great mosque, which communicated with that of the





ramparts in front of our camp, were opened, and Ashan Khan entered surrounded by a numerous *cortège*, who with all possible pomp had accompanied him from the palace. In the middle of the nave, upon a drum, and under the unfurled banners of the second battalion of Absaron, was placed the Koran, on which the principal inhabitants of the capital and towns of the province, who had been invited to attend the act of installation, took their oath, by placing the right hand on the book, and signing according to their custom.<sup>1</sup>

A company of soldiers, and the military band of Absaron, stationed at the door of the mosque, was the only force employed on the occasion, and this with the intention only of doing honour to the banners under the auspices of which the solemnity was performed. The rest of the troops were formed at some distance from the ramparts, and remained so during the time that this long ceremony lasted; after which Ashan Khan presented himself on the city wall, attired in the purple robes used by the princes

<sup>1</sup> The Tartars do not use any characters in their signatures, but merely dip the end of their fore-finger in the ink and stamp it in the document. This blot, made on the paper or parchment which is spread on the Koran, is considered by them as the most sacred and binding pledge they could give.

on such occasions, and was proclaimed Khan of Kazykoumyk, amidst the acclamations of the people and the repeated salutes of our artillery.

Prince Madatoff, who did not think it expedient to attend in person at the act of installation, remained with us at the entrance of his tent, where he afterwards received Ashan Khan, and the nobles by whom he was surrounded, who eagerly pressed round them. The Tartar prince delivered a short speech relative to the high trust with which he had just been honoured, and then entered into a laconic but lucid statement of the posture of public affairs, and of the measures which ought to be adopted for the consolidation of the prosperity of the people, to which he declared he would give his undivided attention, concluding with an earnest wish, that once the stipulations for the contingent and moderate tributes of the province to the empire being settled, the military authority, relying on the good faith and loyalty of the people, would immediately evacuate the province, that the apprehensions which their presence might excite in the minds of those who were unacquainted with their true intentions might be removed.

These observations, made with the earnestness peculiar to Ashan Khan, in the presence of an audience chiefly composed of the wealthiest

inhabitants of Kazykoumyk, together with the satisfaction felt by them at seeing the extraordinary reduction which was to take place in the taxation of the province when compared with the enormous sums extorted by their late Khan, seemed to insure him a lasting conquest over the minds of his new subjects. General Madatoff however, too well aware of the importance of the step urged by Ashan Khan, made some observations respecting the unsettled state of a country in which the fire kindled by the late Khan could scarcely be extinguished, and for the complete pacification of which he was responsible to General Yermolow; concluding by declaring that the departure of the Russian troops from its territory would take place as soon as the people should give those guarantees by which the Emperor might feel satisfied of their sincerity and tranquillity.

Ashan Khan then placing one hand on the Russian order he wore on the breast, and with the other grasping that of Prince Madatoff, said with much vehemence, that he offered his own head to General Yermolow as a guarantee for the stipulated conditions; that he was convinced the people of Kazykoumyk would show how highly they valued the confidence which they demanded, as the evacuation of the pro-



vince by the Russian troops could not fail to obliterate the remembrance of the hostilities in which they had been compelled to engage by a prince whom they themselves had spontaneously deposed; and that they would consider a want of confidence in the Emperor in their good faith as a punishment far surpassing that which they had received on the field of Joserek.

The general, who, like the rest of the officers that were present at this interview, could not help remarking the perhaps studied earnestness of Ashan Khan on a measure involving the most serious consequences, promised to take the matter into immediate consideration, and put an end to the conference by assuring them that what he had most at heart was their happiness and prosperity, leaving in fact the final settlement of this important point to a private conference with Ashan Khan. This took place in the evening of the same day with the utmost secrecy, when the Khan explained every thing in such a satisfactory manner, that it left no doubt in our minds of the sincerity which actuated him throughout. During this interview he also informed the general that he had taken effective steps to secure the flight of several Russian soldiers, who had been made prisoners on former occasions, and who were

kept concealed by some of the proprietors of the country in the remote villages of the mountains.

One of our officers, who on this occasion manifested his surprise to Ashan Khan at seeing him so anxious to be left at the entire mercy of a people who only a few days back had risen in mass to oppose our entrance into their territory, and against whom he and his subjects had been constantly fighting, received from him this remarkable answer: "When a prince wishes to preserve his head, he must offer his bare bosom; and," added he, with a gesture confirmative of this opinion, "should he find himself mistaken, he has always this resource left him," grasping his poniard, "to bury his steel in the heart of the traitor."

On the following morning Prince Madatoff returned Ashan Khan's visit, and declared before the Tartar authorities by whom he was surrounded, and whose reserved manners betrayed a certain degree of suspicion, that he would issue orders to his troops for evacuating the province as soon as he should receive the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants of the districts that had not yet tendered them, and that being perfectly satisfied with the loyal intentions of their new Khan, he would exact from them no

further guarantee. This declaration was received with every mark of satisfaction by the Tartar chiefs, whose apprehensions seemed now entirely to subside.

On the morning of the 18th, the fourteen or fifteen pieces of ordnance we had found in the towers of the palace were delivered to the commandant of our artillery; and on the afternoon of the same day, the unhappy captives mentioned by Ashian Khan began to make their appearance in a condition that sufficiently indicated their hasty flight. These poor fellows, who had scarcely any covering, and whose haggard and disfigured countenances gave evident proofs of the barbarous treatment they had experienced during their long and painful captivity, were received with open arms by their veteran comrades, who, with the liberality of true soldiers, shared with them the little they had in their power to bestow. Among these unfortunate men there was one who had been a prisoner for more than eighteen years, and who, having never been permitted to mix with any of his fellow captives, had almost forgotten his native language. This poor wretch had been employed as a mason in some of the works projected by Surghai Khan, and had his countenance and body covered with wounds and scars, which had

been wantonly inflicted by his late master, who was a favourite of the Khan. While in the service of this man, he had had frequent opportunities of learning the plans of revolt in which Surghai Khan was engaged, and in which it appeared Mustapha Khan of Shirvan was deeply involved. The little reserve used in their communications enabled this captive to give Prince Madatoff a tolerable insight into the whole business, which was further confirmed by the conduct adopted by Mustapha Khan, who on being called by General Yermolow to Teflis to answer the accusations made against him, suddenly disappeared from Fittah, carrying with him his women and his treasures into Persia, and abandoning his province to the Russians, who since that time govern it to the entire satisfaction of the people.

Prince Madatoff, desirous of establishing a direct communication between Kazykoumyk and Teflis, gave orders to Prince Demctrius Orbelanoff to set off with his suite of Georgians for the capital, through a road which had hitherto been considered impracticable, and which lay over the mountains, and through the other province of Lesghi Tartars who inhabited the opposite side of the Caucasus stretching to the banks of the Alazann, where my regiment was sta-

tioned. Ashan Khan believing they might incur some danger in their passage through a country over the interior government of which the Russians had not yet much control, recommended their adopting the Tartar dress, that they might not attract attention, and the taking with them an escort of Tartar horsemen. This being settled, Orbellanoff took his departure, accompanied by forty cavaliers of Nougha, and with incredible expedition arrived at Teflis on the third day after he separated from us, and laid before General Yermolow (who now for the first time learned the complete and rapid success of our expedition) some of the trophies that had been taken from Surghai Khan at the victory of Joscrick.

Prince Madatoff, seeing that the object of his mission was accomplished in full, gave his final orders for the march of the troops, and we left our camp on the evening of the 19th, accompanied by Ashan Khan and his retinue, who proceeded with us four wersts beyond the city, where we established our bivouac for the night. In the course of the evening, the general received in his tent the deputies of the towns and villages that were within a short distance of our line of march, and who had not yet taken their oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Russia.

On the following day we reached Joserek, where we found the artillery and the rest of the troops assembled to evacuate the province. This took place on the 21st at ten A. M. when Prince Madatoff dismissed the various Tartar contingents who had accompanied us in this expedition, and who were to proceed to their different provinces by short journeys.

Ashan Khan, who returned to the capital of his new principality on the evening of our departure, sent to our general the most satisfactory intelligence respecting the pacification of every part of the province, in which he assured him there existed no longer any necessity for his lingering in the neighbouring Khanas with his troops; for he had so far acquired the confidence of the chiefs and nobles by whom he was surrounded, as to be able to dispense with further assistance from an armed force to consolidate the work which had been so successfully begun.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the latest accounts received from Georgia, Ashan Khan, always faithful to the cause of the Russians, has rendered important services to the empire, especially in the late war with the Persians, when, by one of the bulletins of the army of Georgia inserted in the European journals, it would appear that he had taken an active and honourable part with his light cavalry, and captured a son of Surghai

Thus ended in fifteen days a campaign which we had every reason to fear would have cost the army of Georgia their bravest battalions, and many months of toil and struggles, against a people whose reputation for courage and determination renders them as formidable as the most warlike tribe of the Caucasus, and whose territory was so well adapted, by its difficult defiles, fastnesses, and fortifications, to the partisan warfare so destructive to a regular army, and so generally adopted by mountain tribes.

Khan, whom the Persians had sent to Kazykoumyk to create a rebellion among the people, and whom Ashan Khan caused to be conducted to the presence of General Yermolow.

## CHAP. XXI.

Madatoff is revisited on his route by the sons of Ashan—Anecdote—Forests near Kuragh—Cherry-trees—At Kuba the Baron de Wrede delivers to the author a packet from his father and friends announcing the political change in Spain—Magnificent prospect from the mountain of Tehast—Brilliant carpets—Important remains of antiquity—The author's loss of his horse—A soothsayer—Lovely district of Nongha—Village of Vendame—Visit to a wealthy Tartar—The author reaches Nongha—His arrival at Teflis—General Yermolow's reception of the officers and troops upon their return—Don Juan Van Halen intimates to Yermolow a desire to return to Spain—General Betancourt's journey to the Caucasus and the Crimea—City of Kislar—Archeif, an Armenian proprietor of vineyards—Cultivation of cotton—Betancourt's advice—The author travels with him—Their travelling culinary apparatus—The steppes—Tcherlanaïa—Description of the Kalmucks—Mozdok—The Terak—Subterraneous road in the Caucasus to avoid the avalanches—Return to Tellis—Delightful scenery of Georgia—Rewards bestowed on the army of the Caucasus—Enmity of Alexander against the Spanish constitution—He dismisses the author from his service and banishes him—Reflections—Delicacy and generosity of Yermolow—The author's parting from General Betancourt.

ON the morning of the 22nd, while we were breakfasting in the gallery of a house at Ku-



ragh, where we made a short stay with the object of visiting our wounded, the two sons of Ashan Khan, of whom I have already spoken, and who were on their way to Kazykoumyk to join their father, presented themselves with their retinue to Prince Madatoff, who invited them to sit down, and to partake of our repast. After a short dialogue between the general and the little princes, which was kept up with great animation on their part, the youngest having heard from Madatoff that the reign of Surghai Khan had now expired, said, smiling ironically, and with a shrug of the shoulders, "Poor man! it is very unfortunate for him—but it will be all the better for *me*."

The general, who observed a momentary frown pass across the countenance of the eldest, checked, though mildly, that expression of precocious ambition in the youngest, which if not corrected in time might produce much mischief betwixt the two brothers, when they should arrive at an age in which the passions get the mastery of reason and discretion; though there was in the manners and words of the eldest that which seemed to predict he would know how to imitate the forbearance and prudence of his father.

We left Kuragh in the afternoon of the 23rd

by the same road we came, along the magnificent forests, pleasant valleys, or rather gardens, which at every step meet the eye, forming a striking contrast with the barren and rocky soil of the province of Kazykoumyk; and at night reached Ziakour, where the park of artillery was established.

Early on the following day we continued our march, and halted at the invitation of a wealthy Tartar under the shade of some luxuriant cherry-trees, where we were served with a rural breakfast after the Tartar fashion, when we proceeded in our journey, and arrived at Kuba at about ten A. M.

General de Wrede, at whose house Prince Madatoff, Kotzebue, and myself alighted, had hardly welcomed us, when he ordered a packet of letters, which had arrived from Teflis a few days before, to be brought in from the post-office. Nothing can equal the agreeable surprise I received at reading the important communications contained in the letters delivered to me by Baron de Wrede; but that the reader may be better able to form some idea of the joy I experienced at every line, I must refer him to the letters themselves;<sup>1</sup> for I feel that words

<sup>1</sup> See Note E.

are inadequate to express the happiness they imparted.

On the 25th we took our leave of our worthy host, after having partaken of an excellent repast, and spent the night at a hamlet ten wersts beyond Kuba, on the direct road to Teflis, which had been projected by General Yermolow, with the view of opening a communication between the capital and the Daghestan through the provinces of Nougha and Kahetia. Our manner of travelling now was in nowise different from that we adopted in our first passage through the Tartar provinces. Ysa Beck, memaundhar of Kuba, was again our guide till we reached the frontiers of the province.

On the 26th we left our night quarters with the rising sun, the weather throughout the day being extremely mild, and the sky equally bright and serene. At a short distance beyond the village is a steep mountain, in the ascent of which we spent five long hours. It is called Tchast, and is one of the most elevated accessible points of the chain of the Caucasus. A shepherd whom we met near the summit of this mountain killed one of his sheep, and in a few minutes prepared for us a breakfast, which, in our anxiety to admire the magnificent and sublime scenery which on every side burst upon

our sight, we scarcely tasted. The pencil of Salvator Rosa and that of Claude united would, I am sure, have been inadequate to present in all their beauty the grandeur on one side and the loveliness on the other of the surrounding scenery.

The use of carpets is so general in these provinces, that even the reduced hut of the shepherd, who had displayed so much hospitality towards us, was adorned with some very beautiful specimens of this kind of furniture. Among these I saw one which by its fine texture, brilliancy of colours, and convenient size, I was desirous of purchasing, and which the shepherd sold to me for four ducats. This carpet, which for the space of six years I have constantly used, preserved to the end of that time, when I made a present of it to a friend of mine, all the vividness of colour which it at first possessed.

On descending the Tchast, the country presented at every step prospects so diversified and full of beauty, that I doubt whether the most picturesque parts of Italy or Spain could compete with these charming districts. The appearance of the woods, valleys, and hillocks, down which rushed a multitude of crystal streams, on the borders of which the happy and peaceable inhabitants were seen tending their flocks, and

whose habitations, scattered every where, reminded me, by their constructions, neatness, and interior cleanliness and whiteness, of those of our cheerful Valencians, shifted at every moment, and bore a great resemblance to the southern parts of Spain.

We were the second party of Europeans who had passed through these districts since they became tributary to Russia; but the still perfect tombs and legible inscriptions, the remains of porticoes and colonnades, the ruins of large buildings, fortresses, and towers, which we met with on or near the road, too clearly demonstrated the importance of this country in ancient times.

The journey of this day was the longest we had hitherto performed, the general having resolved to reach in the course of the day the frontiers of Nougha, which were 100 wersts distant from the village where we had spent the night, and at which we arrived late in the evening. Being unprovided with tents, we were obliged to accept the invitation of some shepherds to pass the night in their kivitki, which, however, afforded scarcely any accommodation for our party, and no shelter to our fatigued horses. This circumstance, joined to the unfavourable situation where those tents were pitched, (in the middle of a narrow dale surrounded by

lofty hills,) and to the heavy showers of rain that fell during the night, rendered our bivouac by no means enviable, and caused much injury to our horses, especially to mine, that died on the spot. This valuable animal, which was of the race of Karabah, and had all the spirit and good qualities of the Arabian, had gone through the fatigues and privations of our expedition with unabated vigour. I therefore felt his loss very keenly.

In the course of the night I paid a visit to Prince Madatoff in his kivitka, and found him reclining against a cushion, deeply engaged in conversation with an old man, who passed among his comrades for a soothsayer, and whose singular dress and wild look might have qualified him for the spirit of evil. Indeed the darkness of the place, which was involved in smoke, and lighted only by a piece of resinous wood that cast a red glare on the strange countenance of the old Tartar conjuror, was highly calculated to strengthen one in this impression.

Early on the following day we pursued our journey through picturesque defiles and smiling valleys, which form the principal features of this part of Nougha. Vendame was the first village we met with on leaving behind a magnificent forest; and further on, the country as far as the

city of Nougha may be said to be a prolonged garden, nature and art having combined to render it an almost earthly paradise.

The horse I now rode being unable to keep up with those of our party, who travelled at a very brisk pace, I soon lost sight of them, and a few wersts beyond Vendame missed the imperfectly beaten track, and became entangled in a maze of rocky defiles and broken and abrupt soil, where my horse came down on his knees, and threw me down a steep bank. Having recovered from the stunning blow I received in the fall, I proceeded on foot, accompanied by only a Cossack who had remained with me as my escort, and arrived in bad condition at the dwelling of a wealthy Tartar, who was just then surrounded by more than a hundred labourers. They were celebrating the gathering in of his harvest at the sound of a bag-pipe similar to that used in Scotland and in the northern parts of Spain. On my approaching the house, the host came forward to receive me, and led me to an orchard the trees of which loaded with fruit, overshadowed the entrance and windows of his neat habitation, after which he called out his wife and family, who furnished me with every thing I stood in need of to wash the scratches and slight contusions I had received in the fall.

Meantime the master of the house caused the horses to be taken to the stables to be properly attended to; and my Cossack was conducted to the place where the repast for the numerous reapers was prepared. After enjoying some repose, and the kind attentions of the host and family during as much time as I could well spare, I expressed to them my wish to proceed to join my party, and by dint of repeating Nougha, succeeded in making them understand the direction which I wished to pursue, when my obsequious host, being unable to prevail upon me to make a longer stay among them, presented to me one of his sons, who was to act as my guide a part of the way, and I took leave of this hospitable family, who, like the rest of their countrymen, consider the exercise of hospitality as one of their most sacred duties.

Towards the close of the day I arrived at Pombé, a small village thirty-eight wersts distant from Vendame, where I spent the night, and on the following day reached Nougha, having suffered more from the excessive heat of the weather than I had hitherto experienced in this country from that cause. The news of our victory having already been announced by General Yermolow in a proclamation, in which the gallantry of our soldiers, who never expect to



receive praise at the hands of their chief unless they render themselves worthy of it, was justly extolled, the commandant of Nougha was officially informed of our proceedings, which he had also had an opportunity of learning verbally from my comrades, whom I now joined.

Prince Madatoff, who likewise received here in an official manner the thanks of the general-in-chief for the manner in which he had conducted the expedition, broke up the headquarters, which were no longer necessary, and accompanied by Beboutoff and Yakouwovitch took his departure, each to repair to his respective destination; whilst Kotzebue, Ysakoff, and myself, proceeded by the direct road through Elizabetopol to Teflis, where we arrived on the evening of the 6th of July, without meeting with any accident worth mentioning.

The house of my excellent comrade and friend, Baron Renemkamph, again became my place of abode during my stay at Teflis, which he rightly supposed would not be very long, the liberating cry of the army of the Isla, and the generous acts which had ennobled the first steps of Spanish regeneration, having now reached even further than the Caucasus, and removed the obstacles which had hitherto prevented my return to the country of my birth.

The general-in-chief, to whom we presented ourselves the day after our arrival, received us in the most flattering manner, and pointing with evident satisfaction to the standards taken at Joserek, which adorned the angles of his saloon, passed a eulogy on the officers of Prince Madatoff's staff in particular, and on the expeditionary army in general. After hearing from us those details of which he was not yet in possession, he gave us, with his characteristic frankness, a general invitation to his house, library, and table, an attention which he showed to all who served with zeal under his orders.

Some days after my arrival at Teflis, I openly declared to him the powerful motives that induced me to wish the return to my native country, which had now thrown open her gates to all her exiled children, and consequently my desire to quit the Russian service. Yermolow, who listened to me with deep attention, readily entered into my feelings, but advised me to restrain my impatience for a while, until the time prescribed by the military regulations should arrive, and that meantime he would communicate with the Emperor unreservedly on the subject.

A day or two after the above intimation I re-

ceived a letter from my friend Major Manitcharoff, an aide-de-camp of General Betancourt, in which he informed me that my kind patron intended to visit some parts of the Caucasus, and being desirous of bidding him a last farewell, I asked and obtained permission of the general-in-chief to proceed to Kislar, where I hoped to meet Betancourt, and for which place I immediately set off, reaching it on the 2nd of September, in the company of Colonel Jocius, an officer belonging to the corps of that general, and who was employed in Georgia.

The promptness and precision observed throughout the empire in executing the post regulations, and the orders which preceded the posting of General Betancourt, through the various towns in his passage, where the number of horses for his relays were to be in readiness for the hour of his arrival, made us acquainted with the precise day and hour when we might expect to see him, which was to be on the 6th, and gave us a tolerable idea of the rapidity of his journey.

At Kislar we took up our quarters at the house of one of the wealthiest Armenians of the country. This city, which is on the road from Daghestan to Astrakhan, will greatly increase in importance when the communication between

Teflis and Kuba, projected and already begun by General Yermolow, is entirely established, though the completion of this work presents such obstacles as will with difficulty be overcome, even by the industry and spirit of enterprise of the Armenians, who are much interested in it, and willing to contribute with their loans towards defraying the expenses.

One of the principal sources of wealth to Kislar is its vineyards, which produce an excellent wine, from which a great deal of the brandy that is consumed in the interior of Russia, and in the neighbouring provinces of the Caucasus, is made. Our Armenian host, Archeif, who was one of the largest proprietors of vineyards in the vicinity of Kislar, took us to his country house, where we found a numerous party of vintagers actively employed in the pleasant occupation of gathering in the vintage. The comforts which the house afforded, the excellence of the wine abounding in his extensive cellars, the rich fruits that were served to us at the cheerful banquet he gave, and the happy faces of the vintagers, strongly reminded me of the delightful country parties that are formed at this season in Spain, though I own one of the chief attractions was wanting to render them equal to the latter, namely, the presence of the ladies.

Another lucrative branch of the commerce of Kislar is cotton, which is much cultivated in the province; nor is the silk-worm neglected. There is also a great abundance of game and fish in this province, whilst the cheapness of every kind of provision enables the happy inhabitants to enjoy all the blessings lavished by a bountiful Providence. These natural advantages, when joined, as they really are, to those afforded by a mild and truly paternal government, and to the excellence of the local police, the cleanliness and comfort of the houses, and the perfect harmony and tranquillity of the natives, give to Kislar a superiority over many of the provinces of the vast government of the Caucasus. The city is protected by a solidly constructed fortress, which is well mounted and garrisoned.

The arrival of General Betancourt, which took place on the day that had been announced, was hailed with joy by the mercantile inhabitants of Kislar, who hoped to derive some benefit from his visit in these parts, as connected with some project useful to the commerce of the country.

Though Betancourt was surprised at meeting me here, he easily guessed the object of my journey, and applauded the motives that prompted me to withdraw from the Russian service, and

return to my native land. He, however, was of opinion that I ought not to leave the empire without personally giving my thanks to Alexander for the magnanimous reception I had experienced from him, and proposed my joining him in Crimea towards the latter end of September, in order to proceed in his company to St. Petersburg, an arrangement the more agreeable to my feelings, as it would afford me the opportunity of once more seeing those generous friends from whom I had received so many proofs of attachment and esteem.

By a letter, of which I was the bearer, General Betancourt received an invitation from Yermolow to cross the Caucasus, and cast a rapid glance over those provinces between which he had endeavoured to establish a communication, that he might report to the Emperor the benefits that were likely to accrue from the improvements he had projected. This invitation Betancourt accepted, though not without hesitation, as his itinerary was already traced, and his visit to Crimea urgent and at the express desire of the Emperor; but having consulted the map of the country, and heard from me certain details relative to the practicability of travelling with expedition in those provinces, he determined to comply with the desires of General

Yermolow, hoping that by using the utmost despatch he would be able to accomplish both objects.

Accordingly General Betancourt, delaying his stay at Kislar as little as possible, gave orders for our immediate departure, and we left the city in the afternoon of the 7th by the road of Mozdok. Betancourt travelled with a comfort unknown in these districts, but to which his advanced age entitled him even more than his rank, or the high quality of the persons who accompanied him, among whom was Gaputskin, a general in the same department as Betancourt, of whose services the latter frequently availed himself. Besides several caleches for the conveyance of the party, there was a van, drawn also by post-horses, and containing every thing in provisions, cooking utensils, &c., that could possibly be wanted; so that we travelled night and day, without experiencing any inconvenience in passing through the dreary steppes which extend from a little beyond Kislar to Tcherlanaïa, where the colonies of the Terak commence. The surprise we excited among the Kalmucks, who along this line of road furnish the travellers with post-horses, presented a singular contrast with their usual listlessness. The women with scarcely any clothing on, and their long

tresses floating down their shoulders, and the children entirely naked, crowded around us with an eagerness which was soon converted into a fixed stare of wonder and admiration. Every thing they saw in our hands, and which they were allowed to touch, underwent, then, the most minute examination; whilst the remnants of our repast immediately disappeared, as did also the travelling cap of General Betancourt, who had inadvertently left it in the place where he had been sitting; and which was used by the boys as a receptacle for the fragments of our dinner.

On the evening of the 8th we reached Mozdok, where Betancourt left the greatest part of his equipage in the house of a wealthy inhabitant, who entertained the whole of our party most splendidly, and on the following day we crossed the Terak, meeting in our road escorts and relays ready on our arrival, which had been prepared beforehand by orders of the general-in-chief, so that we travelled with all the celerity that Betancourt could have wished.

The sight of the bold scenery that the passes of Caucasus offered at every step we made, excited in General Betancourt the same enthusiastic feelings which I had experienced on my first crossing that stupendous barrier of Europe



and Asia, especially when after entering the Dariel he beheld the subterraneous road which has been hewn through the solid rock for more than five wersts, to avoid the inconveniences arising from the enormous avalanches that detach themselves annually from the lofty summits of the chain. But when we left behind the abrupt but sublime scenery of the mountains, and began to tread the soil of Georgia, the Eden of Asia, Betancourt could scarcely contain his rapture—" 'Tis Andalusia itself!—'tis our beloved country, with all her charms, and all her luxury!" he would often exclaim, and as often stopped to sketch some of the numerous and beautiful landscapes that every where met the eye.

On our arrival at Teflis he was received in the most flattering manner by General Yermolow, who took the greatest pleasure in showing him all the improvements which of late years had been effected in the city and its neighbourhood, that he might suggest others, and consult the Emperor on the new projects that Yermolow had still in store.

Four days were all that General Betancourt could spare for his visit to the capital of Georgia, where, it would seem, I had conducted him to be a witness to the extraordinary *dénoûement*

that awaited the termination of my military career in Russia, and which was more sensibly felt by my generous patron, who had so great a share in my admission into the Russian service, than even by myself.

The Emperor Alexander, in acknowledgment of the services lately rendered by the troops of Georgia, conferred on them the title of Army of the Caucasus, and decorations, promotions, and favours, on all those who had distinguished themselves in the expedition to Kazykounmyk, according to the report which the general-in-chief had given of their respective merits, and in which, I positively know, I was not forgotten. These imperial favours arrived at Teflis by an extraordinary courier. But the testimony that fell to my lot was of a very singular nature.

His Imperial Majesty, unable to disguise his displeasure at the successful attempt made by my oppressed countrymen to cast off the yoke which for six long years had paralyzed their energies, and reduced them to the same state of degradation as that into which the serfs of the empire were sunk, vented his spleen on me, and gave orders to the general-in-chief for my immediate dismissal from the service, and for my quitting the Russian dominions under an

escort that should be made responsible for the prompt and entire execution of his wishes.

Such was the reward which the Emperor Alexander thought proper to adjudge to one who had aided in planting his standard on the towers of his enemies' ramparts!—But I shall pursue no further my reflections on this subject; for, however appropriate they might be with regard to a monarch who, though he had it in his power to ensure the happiness of the Christian world, chose rather to sow dissension and calamity among the people of those nations who sought by peaceable means a redress of the irreparable wrongs done them by an immoral faction, they can be of little avail, as Alexander has now rendered an account of his actions to that Power who, in his eternal judgments, makes no distinction between the king and the humblest subject.

I do not consider myself at liberty to enter into a full explanation of the generous conduct which was privately adopted by General Yermolow towards me, when he found himself constituted the executor of those rigorous orders; but there are circumstances the omission of which would properly subject me to the charge of ingratitude, and which, therefore, ought to be mentioned here.

Yermolow, aware of the unfavourable impression which the Emperor's command for my dismissal must produce in the minds of my comrades, especially at a moment when he was to make known the multitude of favours which his Majesty was pleased to confer on those in whose dangers and triumphs I had shared, and unwilling to aggravate the unpleasant reflections which such intelligence was calculated to create in my own mind, by its immediate disclosure, kept it a profound secret from all, except from his guest General Betancourt, whose approaching departure rendered this confidence necessary. This general, actuated by the same compassionate motives as Yermolow, abstained from mentioning the subject to me, though his uneasiness and concern were too apparent, and produced a certain reserve in his manner towards me, which being very unusual with him, did not fail to attract my observation. This circumstance, joined to the mysterious conduct of the general-in-chief himself, so contrary to his character, always cheerful and frank, and now thoughtful and distant, made a deeper impression on me, and naturally led me into a train of conjectures, which only added to my confusion.

Unwilling to appear in the light of an intru-

der, when my presence seemed to create a reserve, which I knew I had not merited, I made it a point to remain at home, especially during those moments of general satisfaction, under the well-founded pretext of suffering from the intermittent fever, which still hung about me, and in the company of my excellent friend Renemkamph, who, participating in my ennui, shared my solitude. Meantime the anniversary of Alexander's birth-day was celebrated with all the pomp displayed on these occasions, and Yermolow gave a splendid banquet to all the officers and functionaries then residing at Teflis, from which I studiously absented myself, my spirits being in such a state of dejection as not to allow of my mixing in those gay and convivial scenes.

At length the day fixed for the departure of General Betancourt having arrived, I went to take my final leave of him, and found him waiting for me to bid me adieu before he set off on his journey. "My dear friend," he said, taking me aside, and with an air of interest and compassion, "your evil fortune still pursues you. You have yet to learn the most disagreeable intelligence, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent. Do you stand in need of money?" and after pausing for a minute, during

which he easily read in my countenance a negative to his question, he drew his pocket-book, and writing a few words on a paper which he put in my hands, added, "In whatever part of Europe you should find yourself without means, do not give yourself up to want, but make use of that paper, and you will obtain any sum sufficient for your relief. You ought to venerate Yermolow as you would your father . . . and that young man (Renemkamph) as your best and sincerest friend."

Saying this he bade me farewell, the tears starting to his eyes, and immediately proceeded to his carriage, leaving me in a state of astonishment and confusion, from which I recovered only to perplex and lose myself in conjectures on what I had heard from the kindest of my benefactors.

## CHAP. XXII.

General Yermolow imparts to Don Juan Van Halen the order for his expulsion—Kindness of the general-in-chief—The author prepares to depart—His farewell of his friends—Exercitions of Yermolow in a representation of the author to the Emperor—The general-in-chief presents his purse to the author—Baron Renemk amph accompanies him to Mozdok—The author arrives at Dubno in Volhynia—General Goguel gives him a friendly reception—Society in Dubno—Alexander consigns the author to the Austrians—Prince Reuss Plauen, governor of Leopold in Galitcia, takes charge of him—Humorous description of an Austrian grenadier who guards him—Mode in which the police conduct him privately through the dominions of Austria—His adventure at Lintz—Arrival at Passau—He is well received by the Bavarians, and is no longer under the surveillance of the police of despotism—He receives friendly advice at Lindau—He embarks on the Lake of Constance—He escorts a young lady to Zurich—Arrival at Berne—He travels through Geneva, Lyons, and the south of France, to Bayonne—Meeting with a Russian officer at Montpellier—Don Juan Van Halen enters his native land and embraces his parents and friends.

THE favours dispensed by the Emperor had now been announced to my comrades, though

not yet his Majesty's order for my expulsion from his dominions. The moment, however, was drawing near, and Renemkamph, who had learned the secret from General Betancourt, prepared me for the unexpected intelligence, in such a manner however as to leave the unpleasant task of its disclosure for the general-in-chief, who sent me word through the Baron that he would see me privately for the purpose of making some important communications to me.

Having, agreeably to this request, presented myself in the general's cabinet at the appointed hour, Yermolow, after making some reflections on the vicissitudes of my life, and in some measure preparing me for some unpleasant communication, imparted to me the orders of the Emperor, which, however, he declared he would not enforce with the rigour they were prescribed; as, from his knowledge of the character of Alexander, he was convinced they did not emanate from the Emperor himself, but from some of those by whom he often was biassed. "I am of opinion," he added, "that you should write a brief exposition to his Majesty, touching upon the most prominent events of your life and reverses of fortune, without omitting the last you have experienced; and I will on my side



add what I think will be an ample apology for my departing from orders which would fix on his Majesty the stigma of ingratitude and injustice. Indeed I am too much interested in the honour and dignity of his name, to allow an officer whose good services I have recommended to his notice, to part from us with unfavourable impressions on his mind. Accordingly, I will neither hasten your departure, nor place you under the vigilance of a guard. Your promise that you will abstain from entering Moscow and St. Petersburg will be all I shall require of you. Meantime I advise you to continue wearing your uniform, and to make no alteration that may betray the real cause of your departure. Be then superior to this new reverse, and return to our society; for when we separate, there is every reason to believe, it will be for ever."

Four-and-twenty hours after this interview, my exposition to the Emperor was on its way to St. Petersburg; but unwilling to increase the responsibility of General Yermolow by delaying my departure beyond the time indispensable for making the arrangements for my journey, I hastened them, and according to the established custom, gave to my comrades a farewell dinner, at which I had also the pleasure of seeing most

of the ladies and gentlemen in whose houses I had been a visitor at Teflis.

My private means had not been much increased during my service in the Russian army; so that I was obliged to raise some money by the sale of my small collection of books, and of the only horse that remained to me, the produce of which, the reader will easily believe, was by no means such as would defray my travelling expenses from one extremity of Europe to the other; but being an old campaigner I felt little concern at this, and on the 31st of October I presented myself to the general-in-chief, to receive his final instructions respecting my journey, on which I was to set out on the 3rd of November. According to the instructions I then received from Yermolow, I was to wait at Dubno ' the final resolution of the Emperor; "for," said he, "I hope he will see his error and do you justice. At all events I will have you accept of this document,"<sup>2</sup> which, may be the means of shielding you from the intrigues of those who may be inclined to molest you. Besides, I advise you to visit the general-commandant of that district, who is an old comrade of mine, and

' A town in Volhynia on the frontiers of Russia and Galitcia.

<sup>2</sup> See note F.

has his head-quarters in that town. He is a very worthy man, and you may be sure of meeting from him a good reception."

On hearing that Baron Renemkamph was desirous of accompanying me as far as Mozdok, he readily granted him his permission, and begged me to defer our departure till the afternoon of the day we had fixed upon, that we might all dine together once more.

The moment for my taking a final leave of Yermolow having arrived, the general rose from table, and motioning to my friend and myself to follow him to his cabinet, inquired of me on reaching it, with an air of deep interest, what money I had wherewith to travel from those confines of Asia to the furthest extremity of Europe. I replied that I had received the *pragoni*,<sup>1</sup> and had besides what I considered sufficient to defray all my expenses as far as Dubno.

"And then how will you proceed?" he again inquired.

"By procuring from the nearest Spanish ambassador what will enable me to reach the frontiers of Spain."

The general smiled good-naturedly, and said,

<sup>1</sup> Post-money, which the government grants to every officer travelling from one place to another, and which is just sufficient to defray the most necessary expenses.

“ You have strange notions of ambassadors! Psha, psha!—you must not be childish.—It is my wish that you should reach your home without subjecting yourself to humiliations—accept this—I will take no refusal—you shall repay me when you can.”

Saying this he placed in my hand all the cash of which he was possessed, (300 ducats of Holland, 3300 francs,) a fact of which I was afterwards assured by my friend, and which will be readily believed by those who know the total indifference of Yermolow for money, his unparalleled generosity, and consequently his want of riches. He also presented me with a large white bourka, which he had received on that day from the manufacturing mountaineers, who are in the habit of making such a present to the chief who commands in Georgia, and which Yermolow desired me to preserve as a production of the country where I had served.

He then embraced me affectionately, and said with the tenderness of a father—“ Farewell, my dearest friend! May God protect you from the machinations of your enemies, and pour his blessings on you !”

Our horses being in readiness at the door of the general's house, my friend and myself, fol-

lowed by our two servants, set off on our journey across the Caucasus, and reached Mozdok seven days after our departure from Teflis. Here I bade an eternal farewell to my obliging friend Renemkamph, whose generous and affectionate conduct towards me I can compare only to that of my former comrade Polo, though to this day I have been unable to ascertain whether any one of the numerous letters I have written to him has ever reached him.

In Mozdok, Father Henry, from whom I met as hospitable a reception as ever, notwithstanding the orders he had received from his superiors in Europe of holding no communication with me, (of which he himself apprized me with the candour that characterized him,) returned me various things which I had left with him on my first arrival at this city, and having also received back my kибitka, I proceeded on my journey, attended by a Polish servant, who was on his return to his native country, and who filled the place of the faithful dennstchik with whose services I was obliged to dispense on my quitting Mozdok, that he might rejoin the regiment to which I had belonged.

Owing to the rigour observed in the quarantines, especially towards those who come from

the eastern side of the Caucasus, and to some mistake that occurred, we were detained fifteen days in that of Yegorlik, and only reached Dubno on the night of the 21st November, when the cold began already to be severely felt.

The hotel where I alighted at Dubno was kept by an Italian, a very pleasant and servicable man, who had succeeded in establishing it on an excellent footing. I did not, however, remain long in it; for on the following morning, when I presented myself to General Goguel, commandant of the division of infantry stationed in the vicinity of this city, who had already been informed by General Yermolow of my journey thither, and of the motives that occasioned it, he insisted on my taking up my quarters in his house, assigning me a room next to his own.

General Goguel, with whom I now became acquainted for the first time, was a man in the prime of life, of a noble and martial mien, and very fine person. He had served under the orders of General Yermolow in the European campaigns, and was greatly attached to him. From the moment I took up my residence with him, he manifested in an unequivocal manner the interest and sympathy he felt for me, and did all he could to render my stay at Dubno as

pleasant as possible, by introducing me to all the officers of his division, and especially to General Bartelemi, commandant of the brigade of artillery stationed in this city, to Colonel Baronow, and to various other chiefs, from whom I likewise met the kindest reception.

The principal society at Dubno was at the house of Countess Olisar, a French lady who had belonged to the suite of the Princess Pauline Bonaparte, and who was herself the ornament of that place. She kept an open table for the ladies and officers who resided at Dubno, and had evening assemblies, at which I had the pleasure of attending with my worthy host until the 14th of December, when the time for my departure arrived.

On the morning of that day the final resolution of the Emperor reached General Goguel. The post that brought it had been despatched from Warsaw at the moment when Alexander was setting off for the congress of Troppau; and the present order, though it did not require like the former that I should be escorted as a malefactor out of the Russian dominions, was by no means more favourable to me nor more honourable to its author, since it enjoined that I should be placed at the entire mercy of the Austrian cabinet, between whose members and

myself there was not nor could ever be the remotest connexion. Indeed, whether I was to be considered as a Spaniard or as a Russian officer, the outrage now done me by the autocrat was equally disgraceful and unmerited.

According to the present imperial order I was immediately to set off for Leopold<sup>1</sup> accompanied by an officer of my own rank, who was to deliver me over to the Austrian general-governor of that city, who by the time of my arrival would have received instructions respecting the conduct he was to observe towards me.

General Goguel, as an officer responsible for the execution of those orders, was under the obligation of carrying them into effect, though as a friend, who saw this fresh injustice with concern, he did all that was in his power to mitigate its rigour. Accordingly, displaying as much generosity as his illustrious friend General Yermolow, he made me an offer of his purse, of which (thanks to the liberality of the former) I did not stand in need; and leaving to my choice to appoint the officer who was to accompany me to Leopold, he placed his carriage at our disposal. Having requested the company of Major Tarakanow, I took my leave of General Goguel

<sup>1</sup> The capital of Austrian Galitcia.



and his officers in the midst of the warmest assurances of friendship and regret, and set off with my new travelling companion for the place of my destination, at which we arrived two days after.

Soon after alighting we presented ourselves to the Austrian general, Prince Reuss Plauen, who, in his peculiar diffuse manner, informed me that my stay at Leopold was likely to be long, as the Aulic council had not yet determined what course to pursue with me, and he gave a tolerably broad hint to my companion that his presenee might well be dispensed with, as I should be properly taken care of.

This was more fully explained on our withdrawing to the hotel, where we found a grenadier waiting to keep me company, and who was so exact in the discharge of his duty that he would not allow me to retire to my bed-room without following close at my heels. Major Tarakanow remonstrated with the general against this useless and ridiculous vigilance; but he was not attended to; so that the time for his return having arrived, he bade me adieu, and I remained in the custody of my grenadier. Nothing could be more annoying to me than the perpetual presenee of this body-guard, who upon one occasion, however, afforded me much amuse-

ment. Having received an invitation to dine with the general-commandant of Leopold, and accepted it with the view of endeavouring to obtain some information respecting the cause of my detention here, I proceeded duly attended by my sentry, who to my utter astonishment followed me into the general's apartments, where he stood by my side as if he were my shadow, moving wherever I moved, and lastly posting himself behind my chair during the repast, without moving a limb or scarcely a muscle, the rigid gravity of his countenance heightening the ludicrous effect which his erect and immovable posture imparted.

Several days had now elapsed, and no change was wrought in my singular situation. I neither was allowed to write to my friends nor to form any acquaintance in the town; my complaints and my entreaties were equally disregarded. At length, having obtained permission to write to the Spanish diplomatic agent at the court of Vienna, I was informed, on the 15th of January, that the government had been graciously pleased to deliver me over to the civil police, and not only to trace the route I was to follow, but name the disbursement I was to make in order to defray my travelling expenses. In vain I protested against such a scandalous pro-

ceeding, which, had I declined the generous assistance of General Yermolow and trusted to the Spanish minister's pecuniary aid, would have placed me in an awkward dilemma; the soldier was displaced by an agent of the police, who thought proper to come into my room accompanied by several Jews of the lowest class, who in this part of Germany are the most active co-operators of the police. When I saw this rabble at the door of my apartment, I resisted their entrance as much as lay in my power; and, resolved not to submit to the indignity of being left at the mercy of this ruffianly crew, I protested<sup>1</sup> in moderate but firm terms to the military authority against this disgraceful measure, though with no better success than on previous occasions.

My limits will not permit of my entering into the details of the numberless vexations I experienced at the hands of the Austrian government and its agents,—details which would swell this narrative into another volume. I shall therefore pass them over in silence, and proceed with the remainder of my journey.

On the afternoon of the 19th of January I left Leopold in the custody of one of the police-men,

<sup>1</sup> See Note G.

and arrived early in the morning of the 27th at Brimm, in Moravia, where, on my alighting from the earriage, I was saluted by two ominous-looking fellows with lanterns in their hands, who came to reinforce my escort until the time for my departure should arrive, which was to be regulated at the will of the commissary of police of Brimm. This personage, who looked as if the world had been made for him alone, made his appearance in the office at about twelve at noon, and informed me with true German phlegm, that the government having interdicted my passing through Vienna, (where I neither knew nor was known to any one,) he had prepared for me a earriage, (of course at my own expense,) and given orders to one of his gentlemen, a poliee-man, to keep me eompany till he saw me safe into the hands of another, and to take eare that I should proceed by the most direct road out of the Austrian territory.

As I had already experienced too much kindness at the hands of his countrymen to be so inconsiderate as to wish giving them further trouble, I had nothing to say against his wise determination, therefore I returned him a thousand thanks, and set off for Lintz, unfortunately at a very slow rate, though such as the wretched

horses and worse harness permitted, arriving at that city on the night of the 31st instant.

On the following morning I was taken before the director of police of the province, who received me with the haughty demeanour of one whose principal duty consisted in oppressing whomsoever his superiors pointed out as a fit object for persecution. This man put a pen into my hand, and imperiously ordered me to sign a paper written in a language of which I did not understand a word. This, of course, I refused to comply with, unless I was furnished with a copy and a faithful translation of the document.

The director, probably unused to hear from the poor wretches who fell under his absolute control a positive refusal like mine, could not contain his rage, and burst forth into abusive threats and imprecations to such an extreme, that I thought it high time to arrest his insolence by some hostile demonstration. Accordingly I seized upon a huge tin inkstand that lay on the table, and raising my arm on high that it might alight on his head with better aim, was on the point of trying my skill in the use of this new weapon, when some of his subalterns knocked it from my hand and saved the director's skull from the impending blow. As

was to be expected, this did not for the present advance my cause, and I was reconducted to the hotel where I had alighted amidst the clamorous threats of the police-officers, which at that moment I minded as much as the passing winds, my patience having encountered too rude a trial not to give way before my highly excited indignation.

Six hours after this little affray I again saw the director in his office, and received the copy I had demanded, and a translation of the document I was to sign, as well as a certificate<sup>1</sup> of my having complied with his request, and without any further display of official insolence, he declared that I was at liberty to proceed on my journey.

This was the last of the fifty days I had spent in the Austrian territory, a prey to the displeasure of a government who could not conceal their rage at the overthrow of that despotic power in Spain which countenanced their own; and on the evening of that day (the 2nd of February) I reached Passau, where the civil authority released me from the thralldom of my police guard, and the expensive government conveyance, requesting me in the most courteous man-

<sup>1</sup> See Note II.

ner to delay my departure until they should learn from a higher authority what route I was to follow, as I had been delivered over to them without a passport or instructions.

The treatment I experienced from the officers of the garrison, during the five days I remained at Passau, was as hospitable as it was unexpected. From the first moment of my arrival till the hour of my departure it was for me a continued festival; and though unknown to any of my entertainers, (who, however, were united to me by a kindred feeling for the triumph of the good cause of my country, in which the majority of the Bavarian nation evidently joined,) I was to them like an old comrade, in whose arrival they all rejoiced.

The vigilance of the neighbouring power, however, still continued unabated, and though I was now in a territory to which their authority did not extend, I was not only closely spied, but represented to the government of Bavaria as a dangerous revolutionist, whose departure from the country ought not to be delayed. Accordingly, the authorities at Munich issued their orders to those of Passau to allow me to proceed on my journey. I left this city on the 7th and arrived at Lindau on the 11th, without having experienced any more personal inconveni-

ence, nor any tax on my reduced finances on the part of the Bavarian government.

A gentleman and his family with whom I travelled from Augsburgh to Lindau, and to whom in the course of our conversation I related some of my late adventures in Austria, invited me to spend with them the time I had to stay in the latter city, where they had their residence, and advised me to avoid pursuing my journey by land, as otherwise I must unavoidably enter again the Austrian territory, in order to reach Switzerland, and doubtless expose myself to fresh persecutions from that government, which would assign as an excuse the promise I had given at Lintz of never again returning to that empire.

This advice was too prudent to be disregarded by me, and accordingly I engaged a boat which was to convey me over the lake of Constance to the canton of Zurich, and on the following morning I set sail, in the company of a niece of the above-mentioned gentleman, who did me the honour of placing her under my protection as far as Zurich, whither she was going on a visit to a relation of hers who was one of the principal magistrates of the place. As our barge glided smoothly over the placid waters of the lake, my fair companion, who played on the guitar with



exquisite taste, sung with much sweetness some of her national melodies, accompanying herself with her instrument, and threw an inexpressible charm over our short navigation, which was rendered still more delightful by the transparent beauty of a cloudless sky.

Soon after landing, my temporary ward, her old attendant, and myself, entered a travelling vehicle, and proceeded on our road to Zurich, which we reached on the morning of the following day. My extreme anxiety to see the termination of a journey fraught with more trouble and inconvenience than comfort or pleasure, induced me to decline the hospitable and courteous offer of the magistrate (to whom I presented the amiable lady who had been placed under my care) of spending a few days in their company, and having taken my leave of them in the course of that day, I reached Berne on the morning of the 14th.

The Spanish minister who resided in this city, and whose house at Madrid I had frequented previous to my imprisonment, received me in a cold formal manner, which too clearly proved to me that the late political change in our country was not to his liking, though of all the people of Spain these diplomatic gentlemen had the least reason to complain of the revolu-





tion, since very few of them lost their posts, in which all their anxiety was centred, and which many deserved to lose. As, however, he could not, with any degree of propriety, refuse me a passport, he delivered me one, and took in exchange the contemptible documents that constituted my Austrian *feuille de route*.

I then continued my journey by way of Geneva, Lyons, along the Rhone and the south of France, to Bayonne, where I arrived on the 26th of the same month, having had the unexpected pleasure of meeting in Montpellier one of my best Russian friends, who held a high rank in the hussars of the guard, and in whose company I had spent some pleasant moments at Tzarskoïeselo. This gentleman, who was travelling in this delightful part of France for the benefit of his health, brought to my recollection scenes which, having sprung from kindness and hospitality, are indelibly imprinted in my mind.

At length, on the 27th, I had the inexpressible pleasure of again breathing the air of my native land, and some days after that of embracing my aged parents, brothers, and sisters, as well as my generous friends and fellow-sufferers.

# ITINERARY

## FROM TEFLIS IN GEORGIA

### TO THE PYRENEES.

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date,	Casual Observations.
Teflis . . . . .	—	Oct. 3	
Tchartachalo . . . .	26		
Donchet . . . . .	24	4	
Ananur . . . . .	10		
Pasanaur . . . . .	21		
Kaichaur . . . . .	19	5	
Kobi . . . . .	16		
Kazbek . . . . .	16½		
Darial . . . . .	8	6	
Wladi Caucasus . . .	28		
Redoubt Elizabeth . .	22	7	
Redoubt Constantine .	28		
Mozdok . . . . .	39	8	Travellers coming from
Pauladolsk . . . . .	13	11	Georgia are obliged to
Skaterinograd . . . .	22		perform at Mozdok a
Progladnoe . . . . .	18		quarantine of 48 hours.
Soldaskaia-Malka . . .	17		
Nablovskaia . . . . .	20		
Georgiewsk . . . . .	25		
Alexandriew . . . . .	12	12	
Sabla . . . . .	40		
Alexandrow . . . . .	27		
Severnaia . . . . .	19		
Gregoriewsk . . . . .	19		
Lechpaguen . . . . .	33		
Stabropol . . . . .	31	13	
Choskoskaia . . . . .	31		
Douskaia . . . . .	20		
Lesopasnoi . . . . .	22		
Bregradnoi . . . . .	25		

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Kalalar . . . . .	23	Oct. 14 28 29 30 31	Yegorlyk is another place of quarantine. Should a traveller bring with him a bourka, or any other article manufactured by the mountaineers, not registered by the chiefs of the quarantines, either at Mozdok or at Teflis, he will be detained 15 days at this place, unless he chooses to part with the article which occasions the delay.
Rampnoi . . . . .	20		
Pechanic-Kopain . . . . .	23		
Yegorlyk . . . . .	25		
Motschetuaia . . . . .	36		
Kagalnik . . . . .	28		
Botaïskaia . . . . .	26½		
Oksay . . . . .	29½		
Nakhefchiwan . . . . .	17		
Rostow . . . . .	17		
Chadnisky . . . . .	17		
Babinnskaia . . . . .	20		
Prischivensk . . . . .	19		
Yvanovska . . . . .	21		
Katodinaia . . . . .	12		
Ysanloka . . . . .	25	Nov. 1 2 3	Zouganskoy belongs to the government of Catherin-oslaw, and the further we travel from the country of the Cossacks, the greater the improvement in the post-horses, harness, &c. The country about Kapauki is marshy, and the road very indifferent. The country in the neighbourhood of Yzioum is well cultivated, populous, and rich in flocks and cattle. The hotels at Kharkow are excellent, especially that which has been honoured by Alexander, where there is a saloon expressly kept for him, that no other mortal was allowed to profane with his presence.
Yvanofka . . . . .	25		
Andrinopolsk . . . . .	17		
Tchirnoukhina . . . . .	18		
Zouganskoy . . . . .	23		
Bakhmout . . . . .	24		
Kapauki . . . . .	20		
Slaviansk . . . . .	24		
Solgoïnskaia . . . . .	30		
Yzioum . . . . .	18		
Gazoehotka . . . . .	33		
Balaklaia . . . . .	21		
Ghekorikara . . . . .	16		
Chequin . . . . .	17		
Rokhan . . . . .	18		
Kharkow . . . . .	18		
Lubotin . . . . .	20		
Walky . . . . .	28		
Kalnora . . . . .	25		
Voinoukha . . . . .	28		
Dounikova . . . . .	16		

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Poltava . . . .	20	Nov. 4	Four wersts before reaching Poltava are the woods and heights where Charles XII. was defeated. The town has some good public buildings, but I thought it a dull place. Its situation, however, is picturesque enough, and bears some resemblance to Pau in France.
Kourlecho . . . .	18		
Poltavska . . . .	18		
Biklaserkova . . . .	25		
Biolazerkova . . . .	25		
Brigodirovka . . . .	18		
Yarol . . . . .	23		Yarol is a good specimen of a Russian town, from the great contrast it affords in its magnificent buildings and the wretched hovels by which they are surrounded.
Sotnikoskaïa . . . .	16	5	The nearer I came to Lithuania, the greater was the improvement in the post-horses and harness; indeed, in some of the stations every thing in these respects was on as perfect a footing as in England.
Lubni . . . . .	16		
Ywanowskaïa . . . .	21		
Pegatin . . . . .	22½		
Smotriki . . . . .	20		
Yagotin . . . . .	20	6	Kiew is a populous city. Its ancient churches and fortifications are evident proofs of its former splendour, when in the twelfth century it was the rival of Valodimir, and acted a prominent part in the civil dissensions of ancient Russia. Here the wide Dnieper is crossed, and the post stations are afterwards attended by Jews, whose women unite in the highest perfection what one would think incompatible with each other, namely, beauty and filth.
Kiscleskawo . . . .	17		
Pereiaslaw . . . .	16		
Yarkovsi . . . . .	18		
Boreipol . . . . .	30		
Brabari . . . . .	22	7	
Kiew . . . . .	18		
Bielogorodka . . . .	25		
Chastchin . . . . .	23		
Rosevo . . . . .	20		
Natarakovitch . . . .	16		
Rodomiplov . . . .	18		
Beregowka . . . . .	18		
Stonglinitza . . . .	18		

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Zitaumire . . . .	19½	Nov. 8	From Zitaumire to Donbno the road in summer must offer the appearance of a garden, as it is bordered by numerous country-houses with pleasure-grounds, woods, and a well-cultivated soil.
Wilsk . . . .	16		
Paulina . . . .	20		
Sokolow . . . .	14		
Nizalon . . . .	12		
Novgorod-Walniky	21½	9	Astrokh is one of the Russian barriers, and is protected by troops belonging to the army of the frontiers.
Dedovitch . . . .	19		
Korick . . . .	16		
Anonopol . . . .	27		
Kobinskei . . . .	29½		
Astrokh . . . .	13½	10	Donbno contains about ten thousand inhabitants. It is an ancient city; but has many modern buildings, good barracks, and excellent warm baths for the troops.
Fonltcha . . . .	20½		
Warkowitsi . . . .	22		
Doubno . . . .	16		
Berbní . . . .	18	Dec. 2	Before reaching Berbní, there is another Russian barrier and a custom-house, with a post of Cossacks.
Bradi . . . .	25		
Leopold . . . .	84		
		3	Leopold is a tolerably good city. It has some excellent hotels, particularly that of Russia. There is in this city a mean theatre where German plays are performed.
		Jan. 22	The inhabitants of Teschen are not strangers to the pleasures of the carnival, which they were enjoying as I passed through the town, though I observed
Cracow . . . .	38		
Bilitz . . . .	16		
Teschen . . . .	8		

German  
Miles.



Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	German Miles.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Olmütz . . . .	11	Jan. 26	that the gallants seemed more intent on their tobacco-pipes than on their fair partners, whose faces they perfumed with their frequent whiffs, which however kept in excellent time with the dance.
Brimm . . . .	—	27	
Pohlsitz . . . .	4		
Zinaym . . . .	5	28	Zinaym is delightfully situated, and possesses several large tobacco manufactories belonging to the government, the revenues of which (as is the case in Spain) are absorbed by the numerous employés, who do little more than sport their uniforms.
Crems . . . .	8	29	Both at Crems and St. Polten there are a great many convents. The vineyards in the neighbourhood are truly contemptible.
St. Polten . . . .	2		
Melke . . . .	3	30	The road from Lintz runs along the right bank of the Danube, the beauty of which, even at this chilling season of the year, was striking.
Kemelback . . . .	3		
Stremburg . . . .	5		The Austrian and Bavarian barriers are situated in a narrow defile, through which the road passes.
Ens . . . .	3		
Lintz . . . .	5	31	
Efferdingen . . . .	4	Feb. 1	
Austrian barrier . . . .	3	2	
	Austrian Miles.		
Bavarian barrier . . . .	1		
Passau . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$	7	Passau is pleasantly situated between the Danube and the Ynn, which bathes the foot of the fortress. The officers here have a club, in which evening assemblies are frequently given to the
Wilshofen . . . .	2	8	

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Austrian Miles.	Date.	Casual Observations.
			best families of the town. The theatre is small but pretty.
Ratisbon . . . . .	14	Feb. 9	In Ratisbon, I observed
Augsburg . . . . .	12	10	that the façades of several houses were decorated with paintings, the subjects of which are taken from Don Quixote.
Memmingen . . . . .	7	11	The kingdom of Wirtem- burg intersects the road
Lindau . . . . .	10		of Bavaria. This irregu- lar distribution of terri- tory is highly annoying
Rosebach . . . . .	4	12	to the traveller, who is obliged to undergo fresh examinations and imper- tinencies in the custom- houses of these king- doms.
	French Leagues.		
St. Galle . . . . .	5		
Zurick . . . . .	10	13	
Berne . . . . .	14	14	
Lausanne . . . . .	18	15	
Geneva . . . . .	12	16	From Geneva to Lyons I travelled in the company of the director of the botanical garden of the latter city, who was an enthusiastic admirer of our celebrated professor of botany La Gasca.
<i>France.</i>			
Fortress of l'Ecluse	10	18	
Velgarde . . . . .			
Lyons . . . . .		19	This road is too well known
Nîmes . . . . .		22	to require any observa- tions.
Montpellier . . . . .		23	
Toulouse . . . . .		24	
Tarbes . . . . .			
Pau . . . . .			
Bayonne . . . . .		26	At Bayonne I hired a <i>coche de colleras</i> (travelling- coach), and a few hours after had the pleasure of entering Spain, cheered by the merry songs of the Zagal, and the jingling sounds of the bells of the swift-paced mules.

NOTES  
TO  
THE SECOND VOLUME.

Note A, page 6.

*Literal translation of Don Antonio Quiroga's postscript to  
Van Halen.*

“ P. S. I take the opportunity of writing a few lines to you in the letter of the Marchioness. I have just taken the command of a regiment, which is in a most brilliant state, and with which I hope shortly to give a day of glory to our country. Tell those of our friends who are residing there that \* \* \* \* and that they may always rely upon the constancy of your *tresillo*<sup>1</sup> companion at the house of the Viscountess at Jaen.

(Signed)

“ ANTONIO.”

Note B,<sup>2</sup> page 18.

The gentleman alluded to in the text was an old Prussian counsellor, who having retired from the diplomatic career, devoted most of his time to literary pursuits, and was in the habit of taking notes of all the historical errors he found in the course of his reading. A short time after my flight from Spain he had read my name in an English newspaper, where my escape from the Inquisition was mentioned as *unexam-*

<sup>1</sup> Ombre.

<sup>2</sup> The references to this and the following note at pages 18 and 94 have been accidentally omitted.

*pled*, an error which he did not fail to insert in his notebook, from which he copied for me the following remarks: —“The examples of prisoners escaping from the Inquisition are doubtless very rare; but the English editor is mistaken if he supposes this the only one that ever took place. Dr. Isac Orobio de Castro, alias Don Balthazar, professor of metaphysics and medicine in the universities of Alcala and Seville, physician to the Duke of Medina Celi, and to the royal family of Philip IV., public professor to the King of France, in the city of Toulouse, &c., contemporary of Spinoza, and born in Spain of Jewish parents, was imprisoned in the Inquisition of Madrid, where he remained many years, and suffered the torture several times, till at length he succeeded in making his escape, and taking refuge in Holland, where he died at Amsterdam in 1707. See *Israel Avenged*, London, 1770; and *History of the Jews*, by Mr. Basnage, vol. ix. p. 1047, and sequel.”

Note C, page 94.

*Communication of Count Nesselrode.*

“SIR,

“I hasten to inform you that I have just received a note from the chief of the staff, by which I learn that his Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to admit you into his service in the rank of major. The Prikaz of the 16th of May, which contains this nomination, states also that you are attached to the regiment of dragoons of Nijegorode, whose cantonments are at present in Kargatch, district of Signachsk, in Georgia.

“As you will be required to join your regiment, I invite you, Sir, to present yourself to his Excellency Prince Wolkonsky, as well as to the general on duty Zakrewsky, to

receive instructions relative to your departure for the place of your destination.

“ Receive, Sir,

“ The assurance of my perfect consideration, &c. &c.

(Signed) “ NESSELRODE.

“ St. Petersburg, May 21, 1819.

“ To Major Van Halen.”

Note D, page 255.

*Literal translation of General Mina's Letter to Van Halen.*

“ MY MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND,

“ I have read with great pleasure your valuable letter of May the 25th, and rejoice not only at hearing you enjoy good health, but at your good fortune in obtaining such an appointment, especially in the present state of our country. I heartily congratulate you upon it, and sincerely hope that your success will not end there, for I always feel a lively interest in the welfare of my friends. Much has been said here of your brilliant appointment. I have not been deceived in the good opinion I had formed of the talent of Señor Surreda,<sup>1</sup> who I doubt not gave you a full account of our conversations. I return you a thousand thanks for your present of the curious boots. Indeed, every time I put them on I imagine myself half a Mussulman.

“ All our friends here feel greatly obliged by your remembrances, and have desired me to express the same to you, still relying on your friendship.

“ Believe me always yours most affectionately,

“ FRANCISCO ESPOZ Y MINA.

“ Paris, Rue d'Artois, July 19th, 1819.”

<sup>1</sup> The bearer of the boots which V. H. sent to General Mina.

Note E, page 441.

“Madrid, March 20th, 1820.

“MY BELOVED SON,

“The enclosed are two proclamations and two decrees of our Sovereign that will fill your heart with joy, as they remove every obstacle that kept you from the arms of your parents, who are anxious to embrace you. God bless you, my son, and may He guide you in safety to the country of your birth, as is the devout wish of your affectionate father!”

The documents above alluded to are the two well-known Decrees of Ferdinand dated the 8th and 9th of March, his Manifesto to the Spanish nation, and the Infante Don Carlos’ Proclamation to the national army on his being elected generalissimo.

The next letter was dated London, March 28th, 1820, and ran thus—“Hasten to our arms, my dear namesake, for we have now recovered country, honour, life, and liberty—hasten away then—give your thanks to that government—and let us meet at Madrid.—I shall be there on the anniversary of the 2nd of May.—Shall we see you on St. John’s day?—Let me know of it previously.—Adieu, Adieu till we meet.—JUAN ANTONIO YANDIOLA.”

The following letter, dated Petersburg, 29th of May, 1820, is from Prince Andrew Galitzin.

“MY DEAREST FRIEND,

“I have so many interesting things to communicate to you that I scarcely know how to begin. Leaving however my own affairs till the last, I will in the first instance give you some official intelligence respecting your native country. The history of nations records no revolution more spontaneously and peaceably effected than that of

Spain. The whole people seem to have been actuated but by one will, to have uttered but one voice; and the King, impressed with the necessity of yielding to the general wish, has accepted the constitution of the Cortes. You may now safely send the Inquisition to the d—l.

“With respect to T——f and his secretary, who would make us believe that Ferdinand was beloved by the whole people, who were ready to sacrifice themselves for him, I am at a loss to know whether they still are of the same opinion.

“I have frequently heard of you, and know that you are in high favour with the general-in-chief, who is perfectly satisfied with your conduct. I am rejoiced at this, nor can I help now and then showing to my and your enemies (for we have not a few) some exultation at your own and your country’s success. Your situation has now taken a different turn; for in the month of September<sup>1</sup> you will be at liberty to return to your *cara patria*, and partake again of the *olla podrida*.

“Meantime you will continue in the Russian service near a general whose high merit is so universally acknowledged. You have not told us any thing of your intimacy with him, nor the nature of your present occupations. How do you like this provisional country of yours? Have you made many friends? I am anxious to hear from you. Write without delay. How many events interesting to both you and myself have happened since we parted! You must have seen by the *Prikaz* that I have been appointed colonel, &c., though I ought to have informed you of it myself, &c. &c. &c.”

The rest of the letters which I received at the same time

<sup>1</sup> The only period in the year when the Russian officers in active service can demand their licenses.

from my friends at St. Petersburgh spoke of the political changes of Spain in the same strain of approbation as the above; some indeed in terms of the highest enthusiasm; and others, whilst they offered reflections replete with feeling and good sense, proved to me that the principles of liberty were thoroughly understood by the writers.

Note F, page 465.

Je certifie que le Major du Régiment des dragons de Niznei-Nowgorod Van Halen, ayant demandé d'être employé à l'expédition contre le puissant Khan de Kasykourmyk, dont la province située dans les montagnes du Caucase a été soumise à la Russie, s'est distingué par sa valeur à la tête d'une partie de l'infanterie qui en levant les retranchemens de l'ennemi a contribué à la défaite totale de son armée.—En foi de quoi je signe le présent, et pose le sceau de mes armes.

Tiflis, le 1<sup>r</sup> Octobre, l'Année 1820.

De Sa Majesté mon très Gracieux Souverain, Général en Chef, commandant le corps d'armée du Caucase, Gouverneur Général de la Georgie, et des Gouvernemens du Caucase et d'Astracan, Commandant en Chef de la Flotte dans la mer Caspienne, et Chevalier de plusieurs ordres tant de Russie que de Puissances Etrangères.

YERMOLOW.

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Note G, page 474.

“ MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

“ The orders lately given respecting the custody of my person, and the notification I have just received for



my immediate departure, without its being however accompanied by the most indispensable document for my journey, compel me to call your Excellency's attention to the following facts.

“ On the day of my arrival at Leopold I had the honour of placing in your hands a letter which I addressed to the Spanish Chargé d’Affaires at Vienna requesting to be furnished with a passport for my native country. From that moment and by that act I cannot be considered in any other light than as a subject of that independent nation, who is in no way bound to obey orders derogatory to the honour of his country, and emanating from a government which has no right to exercise any authority over him.

“ Two-and-thirty days have now elapsed since I first set foot on the territory of this empire; and though it appears that orders have been transmitted to your Excellency respecting me, they have been unaccompanied by the passport I have demanded, or even by an answer to the above-mentioned letter. What am I to infer from this—but that it is the intention of the Austrian government to keep me in this country as a state-prisoner, prevented from holding any communication with my friends?

“ General! as a subject of a free monarch, and a member of an independent nation, *I solemnly protest* against any arbitrary measure that may be dictated without the knowledge or authority of the representative of his Catholic Majesty residing in the capital of this empire; and I further declare that I will not subscribe to any thing that may be opposed to the principles that dictate this protest.

“ Your Excellency is well aware that I have never failed in the respect due to the authorities; and will I hope do me the justice to believe, that in troubling you with these obser-

vations I have no other object in view than to obtain the justice to which I am entitled.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ V. H.

“ Leopold, January 15th, 1821.

“ To his Excellency Prince de Reuss Plauen,  
commandant-in-chief of the Austrian army  
in Galiteia.”

*Answer to the above.*

“ MR. VAN HALEN,

“ Sir,—It is not in my power to return any other answer to your letter, but that the government of this province have received positive orders as to the manner of conducting themselves towards you, and that I have myself received instructions to deliver your person to the civil authority of this realm, orders which are not in my power to countermand. In every thing else, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) “ PRINCE HENRY XV. of Reuss Plauen,  
commandant-general, &c. &c.

“ Leopold, January 15th.”

Note H, page 477.

(*Certificate.*)

“ The Spaniard Van Halen, who has served in the Russian army as major of dragoons, has signed in this office of the imperial and royal police, the *reverse* of *non amplius redeundo*, and bound himself never to return to the royal

and imperial states of Austria.—Given in the direction of the I. and R. police under my seal, JOSEPH HOCH, counsellor of the I. and R. government, director of police.

“ Lintz, February 1st, 1821.”

THE END.









